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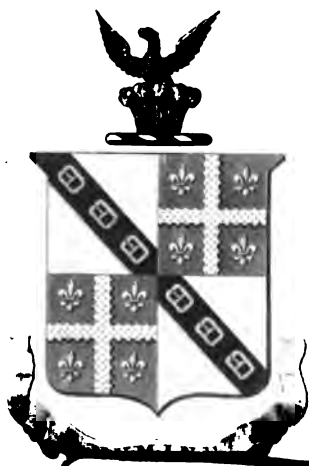


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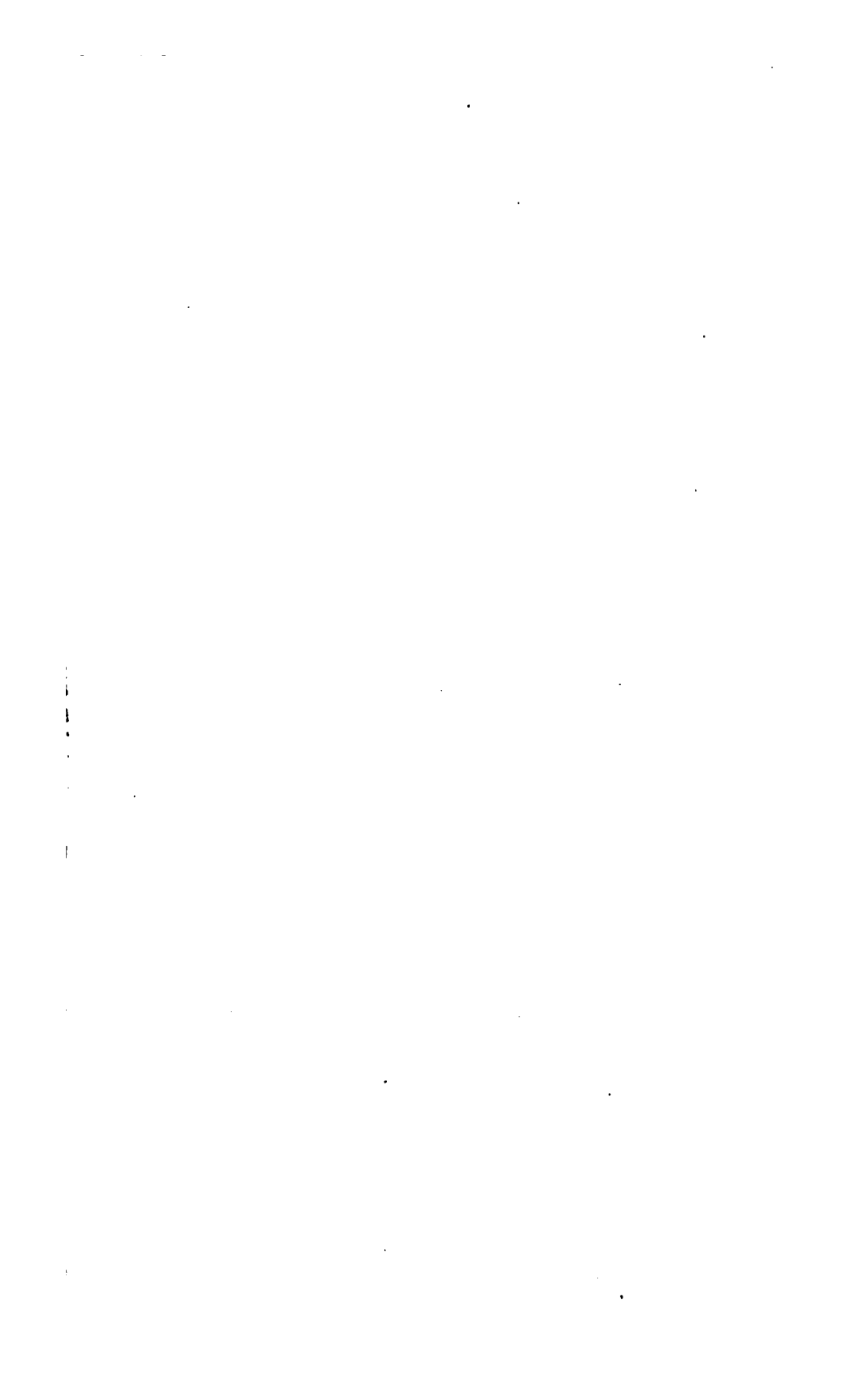


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In the distance, the defeat of the Spanish Armada.*

London Jan. 1763. Published in the Art directed by J. Donaldson St. Pauls Churchyard.

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CONTAINING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS.
BY DR. J. CAMPBELL.

WITH A CONTINUATION DOWN TO THE YEAR 1779,

INCLUDING THE
NAVAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE LATE WAR, AND AN
ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE
SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

WRITTEN UNDER THE INSPECTION OF
DOCTOR BERKENHOUT.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH CORRECT MAPS; AND
FRONTISPICES ENGRAVED FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

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C O N T E N T S

O F

VOLUME THIRD,

C H A P. XX.

*NAVAL history of Great Britain, from the accession of
her majesty queen Anne, to the Union of the two king-
doms*

C H A P. XXI.

*Naval history of Great Britain, from the Union of the two
kingdoms, to the end of the reign of her majesty queen
Anne*

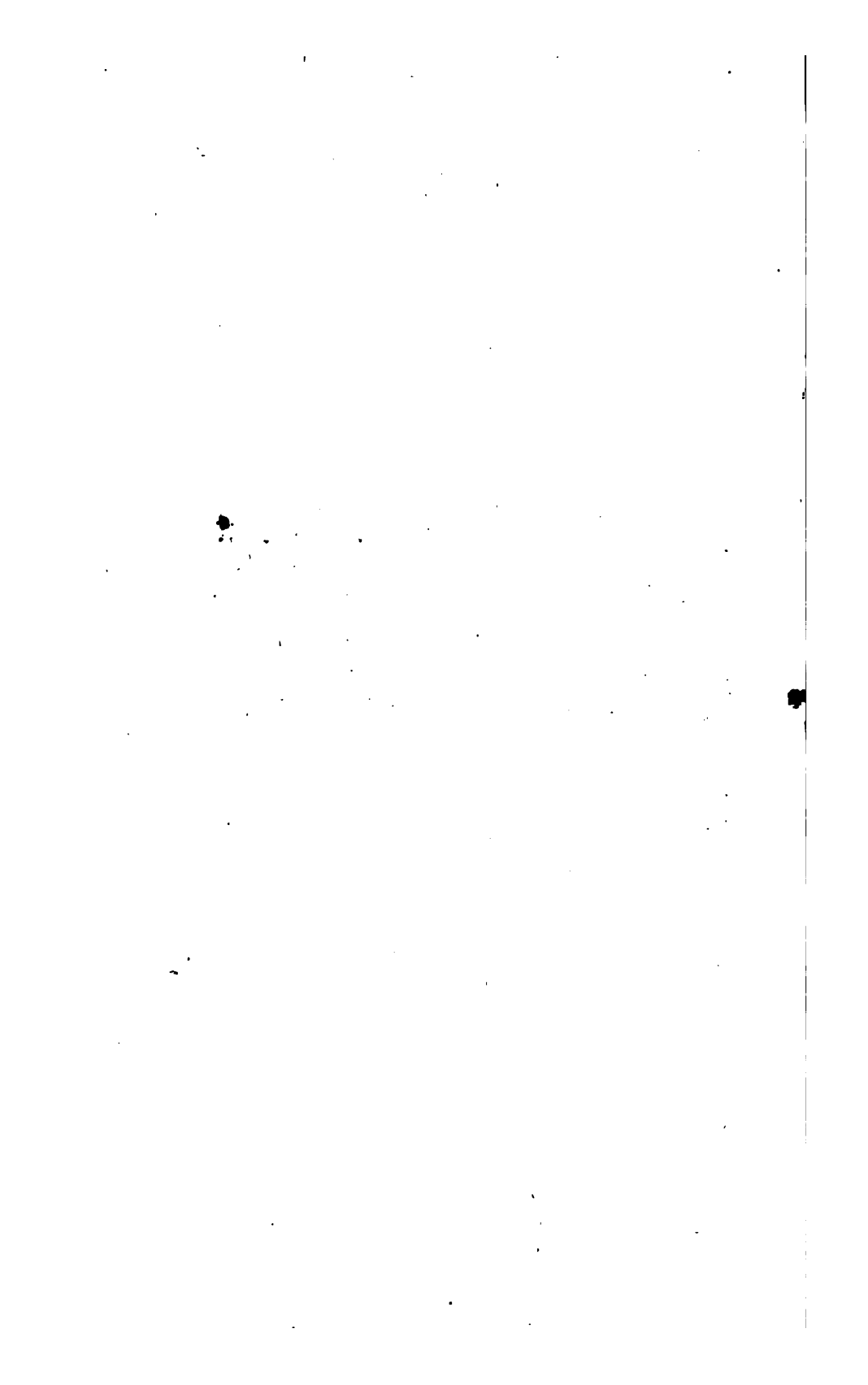
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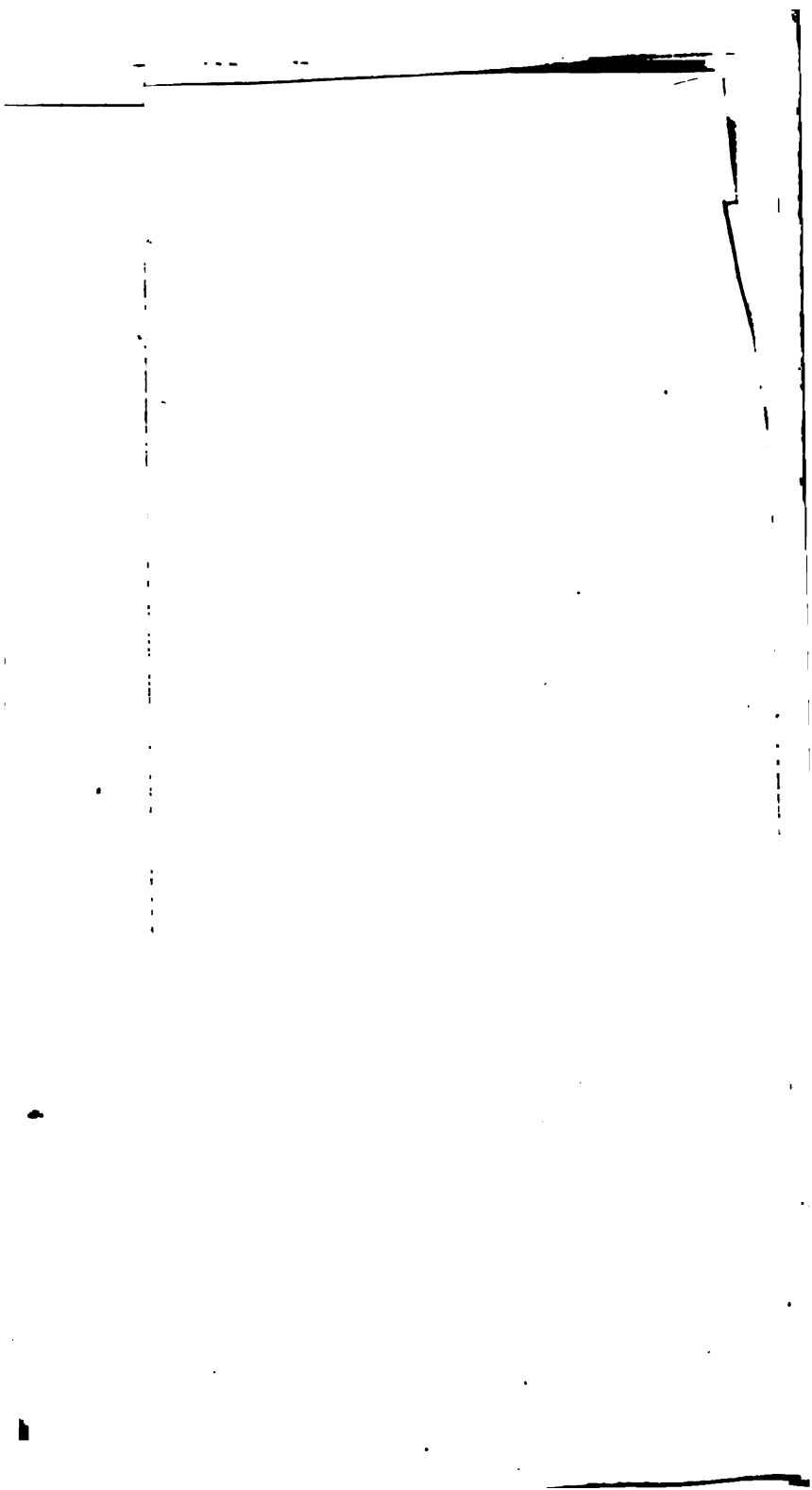
*Naval history of Great Britain, from the accession of king
George I. to the time of his demise*

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LIVES



just claims to respect and freedom of commerce abroad, until
Vol. III. A there



L I V E S
OF THE
A D M I R A L S:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

C H A P. XX.

Containing the Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN,
from the accession of her majesty queen Anne, to
the union of the two kingdoms.

WE are now come down to that reign, under which the nation was extremely happy at home, and her reputation carried to the greatest height abroad. A reign that will always be remembered with honour, and make a shining figure in our histories, as long as histories shall last: a reign, in the beginning of which all party animosities were buried in oblivion, and the Tories seemed as sensible of the necessity of a war, as the Whigs, and as ready to carry it on; which was the true reason why it was prosecuted for so many years with such vigour and success as had never attended our arms since the glorious days of queen Elizabeth; and which ought therefore to convince us, that we are never to hope a thorough domestic settlement, with an effectual support of our just claims to respect and freedom of commerce abroad, until

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there is a new and undissembled coalition of parties, founded not in private views, but arising from public spirit, and all men are taught to think that he is a public enemy, who avows any other or narrower interest than that of his country.

Queen Anne acceded to the throne on the eighth of March, 1701-2, in the flower of her age, if we consider her dignity, being then about thirty-eight^a. She had shewn a very just moderation in her conduct from the time of the Revolution, and knew how to temper her relation to the state, with that which she bore to her family; of which she gave a remarkable instance in the latter part of her life, by procuring the island of Sicily for her cousin the duke of Savoy.

She opened her reign by a very wise and well-considered speech to her privy-council, in which she declared, how sensible she was of the unspeakable loss the nation had sustained by the death of the late king, and the burden it brought upon herself, which nothing, she said, could encourage her to undergo, but the great concern she had for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberty of her country: and that no pains should be wanting on her part, to defend and support them, and to maintain the Protestant succession. She expressed plainly her opinion for carrying on the preparations against France, and supporting the allies; and, said, she would countenance those who concurred with her in maintaining the present constitution and establishment^b.

In pursuance of this declaration, the queen wrote to the states-general to assure them, that she would follow exactly the

^a Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 309. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 273. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Conduct of Sarah, duchess dowager of Marlborough, p. 121.

^b It is very remarkable, that the conduct of the queen at the beginning of her reign was such, as gave the highest satisfaction to all parties; for she avoided the error of Nero, by not either screwing up the strings of government too high, or letting them run too low. It had been happy for her, and for her subjects, if she had steadily pursued this conduct through the course of her reign, instead of putting herself into the hands of one party first, and then of another; both which had very ill consequences, with respect to her majesty's quiet, and to the good of her subjects. This reflection I thought necessary here, because, by inserting it, I shall avoid being obliged to say something like it, on several other occasions.

steps of her predecessor, in the steady maintenance of the common cause against the common enemy: and as a farther proof of her sincerity, she appointed the earl of Marlborough, whom the late king had sent ambassador and plenipotentiary to the states, captain-general of her forces, and gave him a blue ribband^c. She likewise declared Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and George Churchill, Esq; admiral of the blue^d, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Esq; afterwards lord Aylmer, whom we have mentioned already, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak very honourably hereafter. These steps were sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the queen's intentions; and therefore we have all the reason in the world to believe, that her majesty had a very good design in placing her consort, George prince of Denmark^e, at the head of the admiralty; though to do this it was found requisite to remove the earl of Pembroke, then lord high-admiral, who was actually preparing to go to sea. It is true, a large pension was offered him; but his lordship answered, with great generosity and public spirit^f, that however convenient it might be for his private interest, yet the accepting such a pension was inconsistent with his principles; and therefore, since he could not have the honour of serving his country in PERSON, he would endeavour to do it by HIS EXAMPLE^g.

The

^c Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313. Lediard's life of John, duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 94. London Gazette, N^o. 3792. ^d London Gazette, N^o. 3810. ^e Boyer's life of queen Anne. Complete hist. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 154. London Gaz. N^o. 3822. ^f Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313.

^g The advancement of the earl of Pembroke to this eminent dignity of lord high-admiral of England, was not owing at all to court favour, but merely as I have hinted before, to the expediency of laying that board aside, and lodging the power of it in a single hand. There were few of our nobility who could have been competitors for such an office, and none with justice who could be preferred to the earl of Pembroke. He had much prudence, which tempered great vivacity in his constitution, and zeal for the service of his country, which was very observable in all his actions, though he did not make so much shew of it, as others might do in words. He had a steadiness of mind, not to be shaken by power or titles, and a virtue so heroic, as not either the vices of these, or of worse times could corrupt. He shewed, on this occasion, his loyalty as well as spirit; for though he refused a pension, yet, through the course of her reign, he served the queen with the same cheerfulness and fidelity,

NAVAL HISTORY

The new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him by his commission, viz. Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchell, George Churchill, Esq; and Richard Hill, Esq; who were to assist him with their advice, and also in the execution of his office^b. How far all this was legal, has been, and, I believe, ever will remain, very doubtful; but at that time no body questioned it, and therefore we shall proceed to shew what was done under it, observing, as near as may be, the order of time in which events fell out, and that method in relating them, which is most likely to set them in a proper point of light¹.

The first expedition in the new reign, was that of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, which was intended for intercepting a squadron of French ships, that were to sail from the Groyne, in order to carry the new vice-roy of Mexico to the Spanish West Indies. This design was concerted by the earl of Pembroke; and Sir John was made choice of, on account of the proofs he had given of both courage and conduct, as well as zeal and diligence, in the service. He sailed on the twelfth of May, 1702, with eight ships of the third rate, the Salisbury, a fourth rate, and two frigates; when he was at sea, he communicated his orders to his captains, which hitherto had

lity, as if he had retained his post; and therefore, in 1708, when prince George of Denmark died, her majesty restored him to it. A full proof of her removing him at this time, from no other motive than that of making way for her consort, who had been several times mentioned for that high post in the late reign.

^b Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313. Oldmixon, vol. ii. London Gazette, N^o. 3812.

ⁱ It is not easy to find a reason why, since the illegality of this commission was so quickly suspected, it should afterwards lie so long asleep, and then be revived again, as soon as complaints were made to parliament of the conduct of the navy. Those who advised this commission, and those who drew it, were certainly very much to blame; and since this is a charge of a high nature, and against great men, I think myself obliged to explain it particularly. As king William's creating a lord high-admiral, was a benefit to the public, so queen Anne's commission was an injury to it. For by appointing prince George of Denmark a council, she established again that evil which king William took away; and whereas, the powers of the lords commissioners of the admiralty were settled by an express act of parliament, here was a new board established, vested with like powers; but those unknown to the law, which could take notice only of the lord high-admiral, notwithstanding that this council of his was appointed by his commission,

been

been absolutely secret. On the sixteenth he found himself on the coast of Galicia; whereupon he sent the Salisbury and Dolphin to gain intelligence, in which they failed. He then sent them a second time, and they brought off a Spanish boat and a French bark, with several prisoners, who asserted, that there were thirteen French ships of war, bound from Rochelle to the Groyne; and therefore Sir John issued the necessary orders for keeping his Squadron between them and the shore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. These orders were issued on the twenty-seventh, and the very next day he discovered fourteen sail between cape Prior and cape Ortugal, close under the shore, to whom he instantly gave chase; but they outailed him very much, and got into the Groyne before he could possibly come up with them. These dates are settled from the minutes of the court-martial, which will be hereafter mentioned.

Upon this he called a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that (since the accounts they had received from their prisoners agreed perfectly well, and seemed to make it clear, that there were no less than seventeen of the enemy's ships of war in the harbour, which was strongly fortified, and had a narrow and dangerous entrance), it was therefore most expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed, in case they could do nothing on the coast of Spain, to repair into the Soundings, there to protect the trade, and to give notice of their return to the board of admiralty immediately. This Sir John accordingly did, about the middle of June; but then the Squadron being much distressed for provisions, it was found necessary, on the twentieth of that month, to repair into port^k.

The

^k Burchet's naval history, p. 613. where he observes, that after chasing these fourteen sail into the Groyne, Sir John Munden called a council of war, in which his captains took into consideration;

" I. The intelligence from a person who belonged to a French merchant-ship, from Rochelle, and some Spaniards taken from the shore; the former affirming, that when he came from Rochelle, he left there twelve ships of war in the road, ready to sail to the Groyne with the first fair wind; that one of them had seventy guns, one fifty, and all the rest sixty; and that the
" Faulcon

The miscarriage of this design made a very great noise : it was discovered that only eight of the twelve ships that had been chased into the Groyne, were men of war, and that the rest were only transports : it was also said, that Sir John Munden had called off the Salisbury, when she was actually engaged with a French man of war, and that he had discharged the prisoners he had taken very precipitately. To quash these reports, and to explain the whole affair to the world, (which, is, to be sure, the best method in all such cases), the high-admiral prince George issued his commission for a court-martial, for the trial of Sir John Munden, at which several persons of distinction, for their own satisfaction, were present.

This court sat on board her majesty's ship the Queen at Spithead, on the thirteenth of July, 1702, where were present Sir Cloudefley Shovel, admiral of the white, president, and the captains following, viz. Cole, Myngs, Leake, Greenhill, Turvill, Swanton, Good, Mayne, Kerr, Clarke, Ward, Cooper, Bridges, Maynard, Crow, Littleton, and Hollyman, who being all sworn, and having examined the several articles exhibited against rear-admiral Munden, gave their opinion, that he had fully cleared himself from the whole matter contained in them ; and, as far as it appeared to the court, had complied with his instructions, and behaved himself with great zeal and diligence in the service. But, notwithstanding this acquittal, it was thought necessary¹ to lay

“ Falcon (a fourth rate taken from us the last year) was going thither before them.

“ II. That the Spaniards are very positive the duke of Albuquerque was at the Groyne with two thousand soldiers, and that there were already in that port, three French ships of war of fifty guns each, and twelve more expected from Rochelle ; and since both these accounts so well agreed, and it was judged there were seventeen ships of war in the port, that the place was so strongly fortified, and the passage thence into very difficult, it was unanimously determined, that they could not be attempted there with any probability of success ; and that, by remaining in the station, they could not have any prospect of doing service : so that it was judged proper to repair into the Soundings for protecting the trade.”

¹ In the London Gazette, N^o. 3835, we find the following article : “ Wind-
“ for, August 9th. The queen having required the proceedings, upon the trial of
“ Sir John Munden, rear admiral of the red squadron, to be laid before her,
“ and having considered all the circumstances relating to the expedition to Co.
“ runna ; her majesty finding that Sir John Munden has not done his duty pur-
“ suant

lay him aside, that the strictness and impartiality of the new administration might the better appear^m.

Bishop Burnet indeed charges Sir John Munden roundly with stupidity and cowardice, and blames Sir George Rooke still more, for having recommended such a manⁿ. But Mr. Oldmixon, who was of the same party with the bishop, is pleased to suggest, that it was not so much for any fault he had committed, but because he was not in Sir George Rooke's good graces, that Sir John Munden was dismissed^o. For my own

"suant to his instructions, does not think fit to continue him in her service, and
"has therefore declared her pleasure, that his royal highness the lord high admiral of England, should immediately discharge him from his post and command in the royal navy, and his royal highness has accordingly given the necessary orders for it." See Sir John Munden's justification of himself in a letter to a worthy friend, dated August 9th, 1702, in the appendix to the first vol. of the annals of queen Anne, p. 5.

^m Complete history of Europe for 1702, p. 275.

ⁿ This is so harsh a charge, that I find myself obliged to support it, by citing the bishop's own words, which are these:

"Advice was sent over from Holland, of a fleet that had sailed from France, and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. Munden was recommended by Rooke, to be sent against this fleet, but though he came up to them, with a superior force, yet he behaved himself so ill, and so unsuccessfully, that a council of war was ordered to sit on him. They, indeed, acquitted him; some excusing themselves, by saying, that if they had condemned him, the punishment was death; whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want of sense, so that it would have been hard to condemn him for a defect of that, which nature had not given him. Those who recommended him to the employment, seemed to be more in fault." But Mr. secretary Burchet, who was better acquainted with all the proceedings on this affair, than the bishop could possibly be, delivers his judgment in these words: "This was a very unlucky accident; yet the same misfortune might have happened to any other good officer as well as Sir John Munden, who (to do him justice) had, during his long service in the fleet, behaved himself with zeal, courage, and fidelity; and though himself and all the captains in his squadron, did unanimously conclude, that at least twelve of the fourteen ships which they chased into the Groyne were men of war, their number agreeing exactly with the intelligence from several persons taken from the shore; yet, even in that case, it is reasonable to think, that he would have given a very good account of this affair, could he possibly have come up with them." Naval history, p. 613.

^o Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 289. It is very remarkable, that though these two writers flatly contradict one another; yet they agree in having each a stroke at Sir George Rooke; but as their poisons are opposite, so they very happily prove antidotes to each other.

part, I am inclined to believe what the president and council of war declared upon their oaths, that this officer did his duty as far as he possibly could, and it would be a very great satisfaction to me, if I could account as well for every miscarriage that I shall be obliged to relate in the course of this work ².

On the fourth of May 1702, her majesty declared war against France and Spain ³; and I mention it, because this declaration was thought necessary before the grand fleet sailed; the design of which, as far as I am able to judge, has been hitherto very imperfectly accounted for. The great view of king William, (for it was by him the Cadiz expedition had been concerted), was to prevent the French from getting possession of the Spanish West Indies; or at least to prevent their keeping them long, if they did. With this view he resolved to send a grand fleet, under the command of the then high-admiral the earl of Pembroke, with a body of land forces under the command of the duke of Ormond, on board, to make themselves masters of Cadiz. By this means, and by the help of a squadron he had sent into the West Indies, and which was to have been followed by another, as soon as Cadiz was taken, he hoped this might be effected; and he knew very well, if this could be once done, an end would be put to all the French designs, and they must be obliged to terminate the matter, to the satisfaction, at least, of the maritime powers.

The scheme was undoubtedly very well laid, and the secret surprisingly well kept; for though the preparing of so great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was so effectually concealed, that not only France and Spain, but Portugal too, that crown being then in alliance with France and Spain, had equal cause to be alarmed; which had consequences very favourable to the grand alliance in all those countries, as will hereafter fully appear. In some cases, delay does as much as dispatch in others. All the maritime provinces in the Spanish

² *Mercuré historique et politique pour l'anne 1702*, vol. II. p. 201, 234. The truth seems to be, his acquittal was an act of justice, the removing him a stroke of policy. At the beginning of the former war king William rewarded a well-timed temerity. At the opening of this queen Anne punished an ill-timed caution.

³ *London Gazette*, N^o. 3807. *Complete history of Europe for 1702*, p. 137.

⁴ The more this scheme is considered, and the better it is understood, the more it will be admired.

and French dominions were alarmed, the Italian states were intimidated; in short, it every where emboldened those who were inclined to the high allies to declare; and on the other hand heightened the fears of those who, but for them, would have espoused the interest of king Philip.

After the queen's accession, Sir George Rooke (as we observed) was declared admiral of this fleet, vice admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom: the duke of Ormond remained, as before, general of the land-forces, and the Dutch having joined the fleet with their squadron, which had also its quota of troops on board; the admiral hoisted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the thirtieth of May, 1702; and on the first of June, his royal highness the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral; and took a view of the fleet and army, which was soon in a condition to sail^a. Besides Sir George Rooke, there were the following flags, *viz.* vice-admiral Hopson, who carried a red flag at the fore-top-mast-head of the Prince George; rear-admiral Fairbourne, who carried the white at the mizen-top-mast-head of the St. George; and rear-admiral Graydon, who carried the blue flag in the same manner in the Triumph. There were five Dutch flags, *viz.* two lieutenant-admirals, two vice-admirals, and a rear. The strength of this fleet consisted in thirty English, and twenty Dutch ships of the line, exclusive of small vessels and tenders, which made in all about 160 sail. As to the troops, the English consisted of 9663, including officers; and the Dutch of 4138; in all 13801^b.

On

^a Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313, 330. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 489. Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. x. London Gazette, No. 3816, 3820. See also an impartial account of all the material transactions, of the grand fleet and land forces, from their first setting out from Spithead, June 29th, till his grace the duke of Ormond's arrival, at Deal, November 7th, 1702, in which is included a particular relation of the expedition at Cadiz, and the glorious victory at Vigo, by an officer that was present in those actions, London, 1703, 4to.

^b That this was a very great force, and that the public had reason to frame sanguine expectations to themselves, as to its success, all the world must allow: but, on the other hand, our expectations ought never to prejudice us so far, as to resolve not to be satisfied with a just account of their disappointment. Bishop Burnet says, that Sir George Rooke spoke coldly of the expedition before he failed; and this he tells us, to prove that Sir George intended to do the enemy no hurt. But the mischief lies here, that Sir George suspected they should do

On the nineteenth of June, the fleet weighed from Spithead, and came to an anchor at St. Helen's. On the twenty-second, the two rear-admirals, Fairbourne and Graydon, were detached with a squadron of thirty English and Dutch ships, with instructions first to look into the Groyne, and in case there were any French ships there, to block them up; but if not, to cruize ten or twelve leagues N. W. off Cape Finisterre, till they should be joined by the fleet^u.

On the tenth of August the fleet reached the rock of Lisbon, where the next day they held a council of war. On the twelfth they came before Cadiz, and anchored at the distance of two leagues from the city, Sir Thomas Smith, quarter-master-general, having viewed and sounded the shore on the backside of the isle of Leon, in which Cadiz stands, and reported, that there were very convenient bays to make a descent: the duke of Ormond vehemently insisted in a council of war, upon landing in that isle, in order to make a sudden and vigorous attack upon the town, where the consternation was so great, that in all probability the enterprize would have succeeded; but several of the council, especially the sea-officers, opposing the duke's motion, it was resolved, that the army should first take the fort of St. Catharine, and Port St. Mary, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to Cadiz^w.

The next day the duke of Ormond sent a trumpet with a letter to don Scipio de Brancacio, the governor, whom the duke had known in the Spanish service, in the last confederate war: but in answer to the letter, inviting him to submit to the house of Austria, Brancacio declared, he would acquit himself honourably of the trust that was reposed in him by the king^x. On the

no great good, because this expedition was of a doubtful nature: for on the one hand they were enjoined to speak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the same time were ordered to act against them as foes.

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 619. The complete history of Europe for 1702, p. 179. London Gazette, N^o. 3821.

^w Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 290. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. i. p. 79. London Gazette, N^o. 3842, 3843.

^x The reader will be better satisfied as to this matter, if he consults the collections of Lamberti, tom. ii. p. 251. When the duke of Ormond summoned fort St. Catharine, he declared, that if the governor did not accept his terms, he should be hanged, and none of his soldiers receive quarter. To this the governor

governor

the fifteenth of August, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the bay of Bulls, above a mile on the left of St. Catharine's fort, the cannon of which fired on his men all the while, but with little execution¹. The first that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Pallant, and the earl of Donnegall; they were obliged to wade to the shore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time captain Jumper in the *Lenox*, and some English and Dutch light frigates, kept firing on the horse that appeared near the coast, and they were soon after repulsed by the English foot².

The duke of Ormond, as soon as the troops were landed, sent to summon fort St. Catharine; but the governor replied, he had cannon mounted, with powder and ball sufficient to receive him. On the sixteenth the whole army marched to a camp marked out for them near La Rotta, a town within a league of the place, where they landed, from which most of the inhabitants were fled; but strict orders being given against plundering, many of them returned; and, had the Spaniards given due attention to the duke's declaration, published at his first coming on the Spanish coast, they needed not to have been in any consternation.

The duke of Ormond having left a garrison of three hundred men in La Rotta, marched on the twentieth of August towards Port St. Mary's. Some squadrons of Spanish horse, about six hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant-colonel Gore's horse, amongst the dragoons,

governor answered with great spirit and justice, "That if he must be hanged, it was all one to him, whether by the duke of Ormond, or the governor of Cadiz; and therefore he desired leave to send to him for his orders, which was refused." These quick proceedings, instead of drawing the Spaniards to declare for the house of Austria, rendered them averse to it. At least, this was Sir George Rooke's sentiment, who did all he could to serve the common cause without provoking the people of that country, whom his instructions directed him to protect.

¹ The complete history of Europe for 1702, p. 312, 313. Burnet, vol. ii. London Gazette, N^o. 3845.

² *Mercure historique et politique*, pour l'annee 1702, vol. ii. p. 433. The prince of Hesse d'Armstadt was the principal mover of this expedition. He persuaded the ministers at Vienna, London, and the Hague, having first persuaded himself, the Spaniards in general were zealous for the house of Austria. The consequences by no means made this good, as the duke and admiral found.

but retired on the approach of the English grenadiers, of whom a detachment under colonel Pierce, of the guards, were sent to take fort St. Catharine; which they did, and made a hundred and twenty Spaniards prisoners of war^a. The duke entered Port St. Mary's, attended by most of the general officers, *viz.* Sir Henry Bellasis, lieutenant-general; the earl of Portmore, Sir Charles O'Hara, and baron Spaar, majors-general; colonel Seymour, colonel Lloyd, colonel Matthews, colonel Hamilton, and colonel Pallant, now brigadiers-general; and notwithstanding the strict orders the duke had issued against plunder, there was a very great failing in the execution of them, for which Sir Henry Bellasis and Sir Charles O'Hara were put under arrest^b. When they came to England, Bellasis was dismissed the service; and though O'Hara escaped public censure, he did not private.

Mr. Methuen, her majesty's envoy in Portugal, in a letter to the duke of Ormond, dated August the first, gave this wholesome advice concerning the conduct of the army: that the point of greatest importance, was, to insinuate to the Spaniards, and shew by their proceedings, that they came not as enemies to Spain, but only to free them from France, and give them assistance to establish themselves under the government of the house of Austria. It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz while the Spaniards were in possession of Matagorda fort, over against the Puntal, it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected against it; but upon every firing, the guns sunk into the sands, and after a fruitless attempt, the design was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, which was done accordingly, with intention to make the best of their way home^c. The Spaniards did indeed endeavour to disturb them in their retreat, but with very little success; a detachment of English and Dutch troops, under the command of colonel Fox, having quickly repulsed them, with the loss of a few of their horse, who were the most forward in the attack,

^a Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 337. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. iii. p. 290. Burchet's naval history, p. 613, 611.

^b Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 30. London Gazette, N^o. 3347.

^c Burchet's naval history, p. 622, 613. The complete history of Europe for 1702, p. 349. London Gazette, N^o. 3850, 3853.

which

which discouraged the rest so, that few or none of our people were lost in getting aboard their ships^d.

In most of our historians, the Cadiz expedition is treated as not much to the reputation of the nation in general, and of Sir George Rooke in particular. As to the disorders at St. Mary's, of which we shall hear much more in another place, they did not at all affect Sir George Rooke, who had nothing to do with them, nor was ever charged with them. That he did not pursue with great eagerness the burning the ships, or destroying the place, has indeed been imputed to him as an act of bad conduct. Bishop Burnet charges him with it flatly, and says, that, before he went out, he had in a manner determined not to do the enemy much hurt^e. I believe this prelate spoke as he thought; but as to Sir George, I am thoroughly persuaded that when he went out, and while he was out, he intended nothing more or less, than to obey his instructions.

As to the spirit of these, we may easily guess at it from the passage in Mr. Methuen's letter, before cited, which very fully shews, that this expedition was originally concerted on a supposition, that the Spaniards had a natural affection for the house of Austria, and would join with us in their favour against the French. But in this it seems we were mistaken; and yet it was not thought proper to make this conclusion too hastily, especially after what passed at Port St. Mary's, which, considering the disposition of the nation, might be presumed to have provoked the Spaniards to a degree not to be appeased by all the fine words we gave them in our manifestos. A candid reader will therefore easily discern the true reason of Sir George's conduct. He thought it madness to expose the lives of the queen's subjects,

^d The truth of the matter was, that the confederates found Cadiz in a much better situation than they expected, themselves worse received than they hoped, and the general officers so much divided in their opinions, that a retreat was thought more advisable than any other measure in a council of war. If Sir George Rooke, before he put to sea, foresaw any of the difficulties they then met with, few people at this time of day, I believe, think such a foresight a discredit to him, either as a statesman or an admiral. As to his own conduct, he was called to an account for it before the house of lords, and, as we shall see elsewhere, defended it so well, that no imputation could be fixed upon him.

^e History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 330.

^f The complete history of Europe for 1702, p. 316.

where they might be spared to better advantage; and therefore was not over fond of burning towns, and cutting throats, to convince the Spaniards of our hearty affection for them; which, however, was the language of our declarations and his instructions^a. Mr. Oldmixon therefore concludes, after a candid relation of facts, very justly, and like a man of honour, that however the nation's expectations might be disappointed in the Cadiz expedition, yet there was nothing blameable in the conduct, either of the duke of Ormond or Sir George Rooke^b. Foreign writers do the same justice to our commanders, and even such of those authors as are visibly in the French interest; so that if we decide according to evidence, it is impossible for us to join in that clamour, which discontented people raised upon this occasion^c.

While the admiral was intent on bringing the fleet and forces safely home, providence put it in his power to do his country a more signal and effectual service, than even the taking of Cadiz would have been. Captain Hardy, who commanded her majesty's ship the *Pembroke*, was sent to water in Lagos bay, where

^a This is the substance of Sir George Rooke's defence before the house of lords, who inquired into this affair, and addressed the queen, that the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke might lay the whole transaction before them, which was done in the beginning of the next year, and what I have offered in the text, is only to avoid repetitions. A more distinct account of the inquiry will afterwards be found in the memoirs of Sir George Rooke.

^b History of England, vol. ii. p. 292. The reader will observe, that I lay hold of every opportunity of doing justice to our historians, and therefore, I hope will believe, that whenever I differ with them, it is purely out of respect to truth.

^c The French historians say, that the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, whom the emperor had appointed general and commander in chief of such Spaniards as should manifest their fidelity to the house of Austria, did little or no service by the violent memorials which he published, filled with personal reproaches and warm threats against such as adhered to king Philip. At first, however, it is admitted, that the Spaniards did not shew any great zeal for their new prince; but after they were provoked by the barbarities committed at the port of St. Mary, they lost all patience, and fought with such bitterness and indignation, as is scarce to be expressed. The same historians say, that the duke of Ormond, and his forces, when they attacked Matagorda fort, were exposed to a prodigious fire from the place, while they were able to form no better battery than two field pieces, and two small mortars, the ground being so swampy, as not to bear heavy artillery. *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 702. *Limieres*, tom. iii. p. 101. *Larrey*, tom. iii. p. 544.

he understood from his conversation with the French consul, who industriously sought it in order to boast of their good fortune, that they had lately received great news, though he would not tell him what it was ^k. Soon after arrived an express from Lisbon, with letters for the prince of Hesse and Mr. Methuen; which, when he was informed they were no longer on board the fleet, he refused to deliver, and actually carried them back to Lisbon. In discourse, however, he told captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the convoy of a French squadron, put into Vigo the sixteenth of September. Captain Hardy made what haste he could with this news to the fleet, with which, however, he did not meet until the third of October, and even then the wind blew so hard, that he found it impossible to speak with the admiral till the sixth, when he informed him of what he had heard ^l.

Upon this Sir George called a council of war immediately, composed of the English and Dutch flag-officers, by whom it was resolved to sail, as expeditiously as possible, to the port of Vigo, and attack the enemy. In order to this, some small vessels were detached to make a discovery of the enemy's force, which was done effectually by the Kent's boat; and the captain understood that Mons. Chateau-Renault's squadron of French men of war, and the Spanish galleons, were all in that harbour; but the wind blowing a storm, drove the fleet to the northwards as far as Cape Finisterre, and it came not before the place till the eleventh of October ^m. The passage into the harbour was not

^k Captain Hardy, on his arrival in England, was presented to the queen, who was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on him, in consideration of his good service, in gaining and giving to admiral Rooke the intelligence, which was the occasion of the great success at Vigo, London Gazette, N^o. 3858.

^l *Memoirs pour l'histoire d'Espagne, par le marquis de St. Philippe, vol. i. p. 185.* This bad behaviour had a terrible effect, for it gave the Spaniards an idea, that they were to have to do with an impious, drunken, and debauched people, without morals, and without discipline.

^m After reading this account, it must surprize any man to hear, that bishop Burnet charges the admiral with want of diligence, neglect of duty, and a dislike to this service; when nothing can be plainer, than that he acted throughout the whole of this business, with all imaginable vigour; and that, if he had been inclined to do otherwise, he had the fairest opportunities that could possibly have offered, for avoiding or delaying the attack.

above three quarters of a mile over, with a battery of eight brass, and twelve iron guns on the north side, and on the south was a platform of twenty brass guns, and twenty iron guns, as also a stone fort, with a breast-work and deep trench before it, ten guns mounted, and five hundred men in it. There was, from one side of the harbour to the other, a strong boom composed of ships-yards and top-masts, fastened together with three-inch-rope, very thick, and underneath with haulers and cables. The top-chain at each end was moored to a seventy-gun ship, the one was called the *Hope*, which had been taken from the English, and the other was the *Bourbone*^u. Within the boom were moored five ships, of between sixty and seventy guns each, with their broadsides fronting the entrance of the passage, so as that they might fire at any ship that came near the boom, forts, and platform^v.

The admirals removed the flags from the great ships into third rates, the first and second rates being all too big to go in. Sir George Rooke went out of the Royal Sovereign into the *Somerset*; admiral Hopson out of the *Prince George* into the *Torbay*; admiral Fairbourne out of the *St. George* into the *Essex*; and admiral Graydon out of the *Triumph*, into the *Northumberland*. A detachment of fifteen English, and ten Dutch men of war, with all their fire-ships, frigates, and bomb-vestels, were ordered to go upon the service^p.

The

^u Quincy *histoire militaire de Louis IV.* tom. iii. p. 717. Marquis de Santa-Cruz *reflexions militaires et politiques*, tom. viii. p. 93, 94. *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire d'Espagne*, par le marquis de St. Philippe, vol. i. p. 201—209.

^v The French writers are very copious in their description of the measures taken by the French admiral for the defence of the fleet; and indeed it must be allowed that the disposition was as good as the place would admit. The count de Chateau-Renault was a very gallant and experienced officer; and, as these writers say, his reputation was heightened by this accident, then it plainly proves, that our officers acted as well as men could be expected to act. *Histoire militaire*, tom. iii. p. 717. *Rapin Thoyras continue*, tom. xi. p. 487. *Memoires historiques, et chronologiques*.

^p It is perfectly clear from his manner of making this attack, that Sir George Rooke had the honour of his country as much at heart as any man could have; and it is very strange, that among so many observations, no body should take notice of the great prudence shewn in the forming this disposition, and the courage and alacrity of the admirals in quitting the large ships, that they might have a share in the danger, as well as in the reputation of this action. If it had

miscarried,

The duke of Ormond, to facilitate this attack; landed on the south-side of the river, at the distance of about six miles from Vigo, two thousand five hundred men; then lord Shannon at the head of five hundred men, attacked a stone fort at the entrance of the harbour, and having made himself master of a platform of forty pieces of cannon, the French governor, Monsr. Sozel, ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, with a resolution to have forced his way through the English troops. But though there was great bravery, yet there was but very little judgment in this action; for his order was no sooner obeyed, than the grenadiers entered the place sword in hand, and forced the garrison, consisting of French and Spaniards, in number about three hundred and fifty, to surrender prisoners of war⁹. This was a conquest of the last importance, and obtained much sooner than the enemy expected, who might otherwise have prevented it, since they had in the neighbourhood a body of at least ten thousand men, under the command of the prince of Brabant. It was likewise of prodigious consequence in respect to the fleet, since our ships would have been excessively galled by the fire from that platform and fort^r.

As soon, therefore, as our flag was seen flying from the place, the ships advanced; and vice-admiral Hopson in the *Torbay*, crowding all the sail he could, ran directly against the boom; broke it; and then the *Kent*, with the rest of the squadron, English and Dutch, entered the harbour. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon them, both from their ships and batteries on shore; till the latter was possessed by our grenadiers,

miscarried, we should have had reflections enough on the admiral's mistakes in this matter; and, methinks, it is a little hard to pass in silence this extraordinary mark of his conduct, and leave it to be commended as it is by the Dutch historians only; as if they alone knew how to value merit, and we were concerned only to lessen and traduce it.

⁹ The duke of Ormond, though lame of the gout, marched all the way through bad roads, at the head of the troops. Lord viscount Shannon who commanded the attack, distinguished himself exceedingly, and all the officers and forces in general, behaved with the utmost spirit and intrepidity.

^r The French writers say, that at the first appearance of the duke of Ormond's grenadiers, the Spanish militia, threw down their arms, and fled; and they likewise admit, that they forced their way on the opening the gate, as is asserted in our accounts.

who seeing the execution done by their guns on the fleet, behaved with incredible resolution. In the mean time, one of the enemy's fire-ships had laid the *Torbay* on board, and had certainly burnt her, but that luckily the fire-ship had a great quantity of snuff on board, which extinguished the flames when she came to blow up: yet the vice-admiral did not absolutely escape. Her fore-top-mast was shot by the board, most of the sails burnt or scorched, the fore-yard consumed to a coal, the larboard throwds, fore and aft, burnt at the dead eyes, several ports blown off the hinges, her larboard-side intirely scorched, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned; of whom about sixty jumped overboard, as soon as they were grappled by the fire-ship. The vice-admiral, when he found her in this condition, went on board the *Monmouth*, and hoisted his flag there^a.

In the mean time captain William Bokenham, in the *Association*, a ship of ninety guns, lay with her broadside to the battery, on the left of the harbour, which was soon disabled; and captain Francis Wyvill, in the *Barfleur*, a ship of the same force, was sent to batter the fort on the other side, which was a very dangerous and troublesome service, since the enemy's shot pierced the ship through and through, and for some time he durst not fire a gun, because our troops were between him and the fort; but they soon drove the enemy from their post, and then the struggle was between the French firing, and our men endeavouring to save their ships and the galleons. In this dispute the *Association* had her main-mast shot, two men killed, the *Kent* had her fore-mast shot, and the boatswain wounded; the *Barfleur* had her main-mast shot, two men killed, and two wounded; the *Mary* had her bowsprit shot^b. Of the troops there were only two lieutenants and thirty men killed, and four superior officers wounded; a very inconsiderable loss, consider-

^a Borchet's naval hist. p. 627. Complete hist. of Europe for 1702, p. 388. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 291.

^b It is very apparent from this account, that the action was extremely warm, and that all who were concerned in it, did their duty; and if we consider how many attempts of the same kind failed in the former reign, and with how small a loss this great action was achieved, we shall be satisfied that all our admirals deserved the highest commendations.

ing that the enemy had fifteen French men of war, two frigates, and a fire-ship, burnt, sunk, or taken; as were also seventeen galleons. As for the particulars of the enemy's loss, and of what we gained by this great victory, they are accounted for at the bottom of the page".

This event gave a great deal of trouble to the Paris gazetteer : when he first spoke of this misfortune he affirmed, that all the plate was carried on shore, and secured, and that we had five men of war sunk in the attack. Afterwards he retracted the first part of the tale, and owned that a little silver was taken ; but then he added, that nine of our ships were wrecked in their return, and all their men lost ; which shews how great an impression this loss made on those who had the direction of this

French ships taken, burnt, and run ashore.	No. of guns.	L'Esperance,	No. of guns.
Ships burnt.	No. of guns.	L'Affre,	
Le Fort,	76		70
L'Enflame,	64		66
Le Prudent,	62		284
Le Solide,	56		
La Dauphine,	46	Taken by the Dutch.	
L'Enterprenant,	22	Le Bourbon,	68
La Choquante,	8	Le Superbe,	70
	334	L. Sirene,	60
		Le Modere,	56
Le Favori, a fire-ship,		Le Voluntaire,	46
Eight advice-boats,		Le Triton,	42
			347
Taken by the English, and brought home.		Total, ships, 21.	guns, 266
Le Prompt,	76		
Le Firme,	72		

Six galleons were taken by the English, and five by the Dutch, who sunk six. As to the wealth on board the galleons, we never had any exact account of it. It is certain, that the Spanish and French ships had been twenty-five days in Vigo harbour, before the confederates arrived there, in which time, they debarked the best part of the plate and rich goods, and sent them up the country. The galleons had on board when they arrived, twenty millions of pieces of eight, besides merchandize, which was thought of equal value. Of the silver, fourteen millions were saved, of the goods about five. Four millions of plate were destroyed, with ten millions of merchandize; and about two millions in silver, and five in goods, were brought away by the English and Dutch.

gazette. Father Daniel gives a pretty fair account of this matter, and a late French historian very candidly owns, that by this blow the naval power of France was so deeply wounded, as that she never recovered it during the war *.

There were certain circumstances attending this success of ours at Vigo, which heightened its lustre not a little. Our statesmen had all along kept their eyes upon the galleons, and had actually fitted out a squadron on purpose to intercept them, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Orders likewise had been sent to Sir George Rooke, by the earl of Nottingham, which never reached him; and after all their precautions, Sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron would scarce have been strong enough to have undertaken so dangerous an enterprize. Yet bishop Burnet, not at all dazzled with the brightness of this exploit, tells us, that Sir George Rooke performed this service very unwillingly, and did not make the use of it he might have done; in which, no doubt, he was imposed on, since the fact, upon which he grounds it, is certainly false x.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel arrived on the sixteenth of October, as the troops were imbarcking, and the admiral left him at Vigo, with orders to see the French men of war, and the galleons that we had taken, and that were in a condition to be brought to England, carefully rigged, and properly supplied with men. He was likewise directed to burn such as could not be brought home, and to take the best care he could to prevent embezzlements; and having appointed a strong squadron for this service, the admiral, with the rest of the fleet, and one of the Spanish galleons, sailed home, and arrived in the Downs, on the seventh of November, 1702, from whence the great ships

* See the complete history of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 391.

x If Sir George Rooke had been so negligent as the bishop makes him, we had certainly never heard of the Spanish fleet at Vigo at all; for though the bishop says, that the admiral sent to none of the ports, (whereas expresses were sent to them all from Lisbon), yet the matter of fact is clearly this, that Sir George sent captain Hardy to Lagos bay, and there he met with the only express that was sent from Lisbon; so that here we have a charge, not only without proof, but directly in the teeth of proof. Burchet's naval hist. p. 629. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 331. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 291, 292. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. i. p. 134, 135.

were, about the middle of the month, sent round to Chatham¹.

Sir Cloudefley Shovel, in the space of a week, put the French men of war, and other prizes, into the best condition possible; took out all the lading from a galleon, which was made prize by the Mary, and brought along with him the Dartmouth, which had been taken from us in the last war, and was now made prize by captain Wyvill; but as there was another ship of that name in the navy, this prize was called the Vigo. He also took out of the French ships that were run on shore, fifty brass guns, and brought off sixty more from the forts and batteries; after which, on the twenty-fourth of October, he set fire to the ships he could not bring away. The next day he left Vigo, but it proving calm, he anchored in the channel between that port and Bayonne, where he sent several prisoners on shore with a flag of truce, and had ours returned in their stead².

On the twenty-seventh of October, he was again under sail, intending to have passed through the north channel; but the wind taking him short, he was obliged to pass through that which lies to the south, where the galleon, which was the Monmouth's prize, struck upon a rock, and foundered; but there being several frigates on each side of her, all her men were saved except two. He was the very same day joined by the Dragon, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by captain Holyman, which had been attacked by a French man of war of much greater force, and the captain and twenty-five men killed; but his lieutenant fought her bravely, and at last brought her safe into the fleet. In their passage they had extreme bad weather, and though the Nassau had the good fortune to make a very rich prize, which was coming from Morlaix, yet that vessel foundered the next morning, and the weather was then so bad, that the squadron separated, every ship shifting for itself; though

¹ Columns rostrats, p. 275. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 32. London Gazette, N^o. 3860.

² This Squadron sailed from Spithead, the 20th of September, 1702. Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs, November 7th; and Sir Cloudefley sailed the 25th of October, from Vigo, and arrived on the tenth of November, off the Isle of Wight. See the Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3861.

all had the good luck to get safe to England, but in a very shattered condition^a.

We have now attended the grand fleet throughout the whole expedition, and are next to mention what was performed by several detachments made for particular services. Among these the squadron commanded by captain John Leake, claims the first notice. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1702, he received instructions from his royal highness, to proceed to Newfoundland, with a small squadron, in order to protect the trade, annoy the enemy, and bring the homeward-bound ships under his convoy. He sailed in pursuance of these instructions, and arrived in Plymouth Sound, on the twenty-second of July, where having gained the best intelligence he could, as to the state of our own affairs, and of those of the enemy, he so effectually pursued the design on which he came thither, that by the end of October he found himself ready to proceed with the homeward-bound ships for England, having taken twenty-nine sail of the enemy, and burnt two. Of these, three were laden with salt, twenty-five with fish, and one from Martinico with sugar and molasses, eight of which fell into the hands of the Exeter, nine were taken by the Medway, four by the Montague, as many by the Litchfield, three by the Charles-galley, and one by the Reserve. Besides which, he burnt and destroyed all the fishing-boats and stages, &c. at Trepassy, St. Mary's, Coloner, great and little St. Lawrence's, and the island of St. Peter's at the entrance of Fortune-bay, being all very considerable establishments of the French in Newfoundland, and of the greatest importance for carrying on their fishery there, and breeding their seamen. At the latter of these places, there was a small fort of six guns, which he totally demolished: after all which extraordinary success, he sailed home safely, though the weather was bad, and arrived with the squadron under his command at Portsmouth, on the tenth of November in the same year^b.

In this, as in the former war, nothing gave us or the Dutch more disturbance, than the expeditions made from time to time

^a See the London Gazette, N^o. 3862, 3863. where it is said, that the remainder of the fleet came in, under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne.

^b See the London Gazette, N^o. 3861.

by the French ships at Dunkirk, where this year they had a small squadron under the command of the famous monsieur de Pointis. This induced his royal highness to equip a particular squadron under the command of commodore Beaumont, which had orders in the latter end of the month of June, to sail to the mouth of that port, to keep the French ships from coming out. The states-general had, for the same purpose, a much stronger squadron, under the command of rear-admiral Vanderduffen, for reasons of great importance, as they apprehended; though it afterwards appeared, that the French kept seven or eight ships there purely to amuse us and the Dutch, and to keep us in perpetual motion. According to the informations we had here, the French were sometimes said to have a design of intercepting our homeward-bound ships from Sweden and Russia; according to others, they meditated a descent upon Scotland; and a great deal of pains and expence it cost us, to guard against both these designs^c.

On the other hand, the Dutch, who always piqued themselves on having the best and earliest intelligence, were thoroughly satisfied, that the Dunkirk squadron was not intended to attack us, but them; and that the true scheme of the French was, to make a descent upon Zealand; to which purpose they had likewise information, that a body of eight thousand land-forces was assembled near Ostend. Full of apprehensions on this account, they re-inforced their squadron before Dunkirk to eighteen men of war of the line, and sent vice-admiral Evertzen to command it. This officer found himself so strictly tied up by his instructions, that he could not afford any assistance to our commodore, when, in pursuance to orders from home, he sent to demand it. However, after several months fruitless attendance, and frequent informations given to the earl of Nottingham, that the French were at sea, and gone here and gone there, it at last appeared, that commodore Beaumont had been all the while in the right, who affirmed in his letters, that they never stirred out of the harbour^d.

It

^c The present state of Europe for 1702, p. 317.

^d Burchet's naval hist. p. p. 635. *Memoirs of John du Bart*, p. 315. Lond. G.2. N^o. 3957. In all probability, the French themselves were the authors of
their

It may not be amiss to observe here, that, in the beginning of 1702, died the famous John du Bart. He was a native of Dunkirk, as some say, though others alledge that he was born at Newcastle upon Tyne, but being carried over a child, was bred up from his infancy in the sea-service at Dunkirk^e. This is certain, that his mother was an English woman, and that he spent the first part of his life in ours and the Dutch service; but having nothing but his merit to recommend him, he obtained very little, if any, preferment, which disgusted him so much, that, upon the breaking out of the former war, he entered into the service of France, and rose there to the command of the Dunkirk Squadron; in which post he rendered himself sufficiently terrible to the English and Dutch, by taking more of their ships, than almost all the other French privateers together^f.

He was succeeded in command by the Sieur Pointis, who had taken Carthage, and whom the French therefore thought it proper to reward; though it is certain he had not either the in-

these pieces of false intelligence, on purpose to alarm us and our allies, and to keep up the reputation of this formidable Squadron. Thus much indeed was true, that the people in Scotland were in a great measure disaffected, and the French, from time to time, promised them assistance from Dunkirk; but the condition of their marine was such, as did not enable them to undertake any thing of importance; and indeed the whole strength of the Dunkirk Squadron was altogether insufficient for performing any of the enterprizes that it was supposed to be designed for. In this, therefore, lay the error of our ministry, that they had not proper intelligence as to the force of that Squadron, for this would have rendered it impossible for them to have been played upon as they were.

^e See the complete hist. of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 480, 481.

^f This du Bart performed most of his great exploits by mere dint of knowledge. He derived from nature a wonderful genius for maritime affairs, and improved this by a steady application to them. His perfect acquaintance with all the coasts, enabled him to perform wonders; because he, generally speaking, had to do with men much inferior to him in this kind of skill. He was besides, a most excellent seaman, and never trusted to the care of others, what it was in his power to see done himself. By this means, he kept his ships constantly clean, and in readiness to go to sea whenever an opportunity offered; and his sagacity and success placed him so high in the esteem of Louis XIV. that he generally made choice of him for the execution of the most difficult enterprizes undertaken during his reign; such as the convoying the prince of Conti to Poland, and the escorting the transports for the intended descent on England, in 1697.

dustry

dustry or the capacity of his predecessor. But if we had nothing but the instance of this year's trouble and expence, in which no less than thirty of ours and the states-general's ships were employed in watching the Dunkirk squadron, it would be sufficient to shew the absolute necessity of keeping that port in its dismantled situation, and never permitting the French to gain by plunder; the effects of other people's industry; for it is impossible any slight commerce carried on there, in times of tranquillity, can make the maritime powers the least amends for the risk they must run, on the breaking out of a war, should this port ever be restored, and left in that condition at a peaceⁱ.

I am now to speak of admiral Benbow's expedition to the West Indies, and of his unfortunate death, the memory of which I could, for the honour of my country, wish should be buried in oblivion; but since that is impossible, I shall give the fairest and fullest account of the matter that I am able, having taken all the pains that I possibly could; to be perfectly informed of every circumstance relating to that affair, and shall be particularly careful to avoid concealing truth on the one side, and no less attentive not to exaggerate it on the other. We have already mentioned the cause and the manner of admiral Benbow's putting to sea with his squadron, which consisted of two third, and eight fourth rates.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the third of November, 1701, from whence he sailed to examine the state of the French, and of our own Leeward-islands. He found the former in some confusion; and the latter in so good a state of defence, that he did not look upon himself under any necessity of staying, and therefore sailed to Jamaica^b. There he received advice of two
French

ⁱ I hint this, the rather because some people have laid a great stress on our commerce, by means of that port, which, they would have us believe, turns in the main more to our advantage, than to that of the French. It is certain, however, that such as are of this opinion, have little acquaintance with the maxims of the French government, or the attention that the present French ministry pay to things of this nature; there being perhaps no nation in the world where nicer inquiries are made into whatever regards commerce.

^b See the Lond. Gaz. 3862, where it is said, that all the seamen, as well as the admiral and officers, were so well accustomed to that climate, that

French squadrons being arrived in the West Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that island and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his strength would permit, of both places, he formed a design of attacking Petit Guavas; but, before he could execute it, he had intelligence that Monsieur Ducasse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, with a squadron of French ships, having an intent to settle the assiento in favour of the French, and to destroy the English and Dutch trade for negroes.

Upon this he detached rear-admiral Whetstone in pursuit of him, and on the eleventh of July 1702, he sailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the rear-admiral: but having intelligence that Ducasse was expected at Leogane, on the north-side of Hispaniola, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty-seventh. Not far from the town he perceived several ships at anchor, and one under sail, who sent out her boat to discover his strength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which he learned, that there were six merchant ships in the port, and that the ship they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the admiral pressed so hard, that the captain, seeing no probability of escaping, ran the ship ashore, and blew her up. On the twenty-eighth the admiral came before the town, where he found a ship of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The rest of the ships had sailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, viz. Cul de Sac, but some of our ships, between them and that port took three of them, and sunk a fourth. The admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, which he found it impossible to attack, sailed for Donna Maria bay, where he continued till the tenth of August, when having received advice, that Monsieur Ducasse was sailed for Carthagea, and from thence was to sail to Porto-Bello, he resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed that day for the Spanish coast of Santa Martha¹.

On

they were in very good health, and not above ten men sick in the hospital. See also Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. v. and the complete history of Europe for 1702, in the appendix. Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 144.

¹ *Mercure historique et politique*, 1702. p. 657, where there is a very exact account of his proceedings, while on the coast of Hispaniola. See also an
account

On the nineteenth in the evening, he discovered near that place, ten sail of tall ships to the westward: standing towards them, he found the best part of them to be French men of war; upon this he made the usual signal for a line of battle, going away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join them, the French steering along-shore under their top-sails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great Dutch-built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of foldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates a-stern were a long time in coming up, and the night advancing, the admiral steered along-side of the French; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended not to make any attack, until the *Defiance* was got a-breast of the headmost.

Before he could reach that station, the *Falmouth* (which was in the rear) attempted the Dutch ship, the *Windsor* for the ship a-breast of her, as did also the *Defiance*, and soon after, the rear-admiral himself was engaged, having first received the fire of the ship which was opposite to him; but the *Defiance* and *Windsor* stood no more than two or three broadsides, before they lust out of gun-shot, infomuch that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and galled him very much; nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the service if he had a new line of battle, and led himself on all tacks, he did so, and the line of battle then stood thus^{*}.

Guns.

The Breda,	vice-admiral Benbow and captain Fog,	-	70
The <i>Defiance</i> ,	captain Richard Kirby,	-	64
The <i>Greenwich</i> ,	captain Cooper Wade,	-	54

account of the proceedings of vice-admiral Bentow, in the West Indies, in the appendix to the complete history of Europe, for the year 1702, drawn up from his own journal, p. 515. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3865, 3878.

^{*} Borchet's naval hist. p. 594. *Columna rostrata*, p. 191. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303.

				Guns.
The Ruby,	captain George Walton,	-	-	48
The Pendennis,	captain Thomas Hudson,	-	-	48
The Windsor,	captain John Constable,	-	-	48
The Falmouth,	captain Samuel Vincent,	-	-	48

On the twentieth at day-break, he found himself very near the enemy, with only the Ruby to assist him, the rest of the ships lying three, four, or five miles a-stern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-shot of the enemy, yet the latter was so civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon, the sea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what sail they could: and the rest of the ships not coming up, the admiral and the Ruby plied them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night^l.

On the twenty-first, the admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's line, within point-blank shot; but the Ruby being a-head of the same ship, she fired at her, as the other ship did likewise that was a-head of the admiral. The Breda engaged the ship that first attacked the Ruby, and plied her so warmly, that she was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the Ruby was in such a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement the rear-ship of the enemy's was a-breast of the Defiance and Windsor, but neither of those ships fired a single shot^m. On the twenty-second at day-break, the Greenwich was five leagues a-stern, though the signal for battle was never struck night or

^l Hence it appears, that if the Ruby had deserted admiral Benbow with the rest, he could have done nothing; but must have been obliged to return to Jamaica, which was what his captains aimed at; and if this could have been effected, they had in all probability carried their point, and the whole blame had been thrown upon the admiral; which sufficiently demonstrates the merit of the gentleman who commanded the Ruby, viz. the late Sir George Walton, who had, however, been tampered with in his turn by the other captains; but when he came to be sober, and to consider the matter better, discharged his duty as became him.

^m Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 48, 49. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome 34. p. 210, 211. Admiral Benbow's journal.

day; about three in the afternoon the wind came southerly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage^a.

On the twenty-third the enemy was six leagues a-head, and the great Dutch ship separated from them. At ten, the enemy tacked with the wind at E. N. E. the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a shot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadside. About noon they recovered from the enemy a small English ship, called the Anne-galley, which they had taken off the rock of Lisbon. The Ruby being disabled, the admiral ordered her for Port-Royal. The rest of the squadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was in hopes of doing something at last, and therefore continued to steer after them; but his ships, except the Falmouth, were soon a-stern again; at twelve the enemy began to separate^b.

On the twenty-fourth, about two in the morning, they came up within call of the sternmost, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadside with double round below, and round and partridge aloft. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was shattered to pieces by a chain-shot, and he was carried down; but he presently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. Then appeared the ruins of the enemy's ship of about seventy guns, her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides bored to pieces. The admiral soon after discovered the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The Windfor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the disabled ship, fired their broadsides, passed her, and stood to the southward: then came the Defiance, fired part of her broadside, when the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her

^a See Burchet's naval history, and the account of the proceedings of vice-admiral Benbow, from whence, indeed, most of the other accounts are transcribed.

^b In this, all the accounts we have, agree; and nothing can be plainer than that, if these captains had now returned to their duty, most of DuCasse's squadron must have been taken.

top-sails, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the signal of battle^p.

The enemy seeing the other two ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their disabled ship and him, and poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main-top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though captain Fog ordered two guns to be fired at the ships a-head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, seeing things in this confusion, brought to, and lay by their own disabled ship, re-manned and took her into tow. The Breda's rigging being much shattered, she was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being by that time refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle signal out all the while, and captain Fog, by the admiral's orders, sent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, "That he had better desist; that the French were very strong; and that from what was past, he might guess he could make nothing of it^q."

The brave admiral Benbow, more surprized at this language, than he would have been at the sight of another French squadron, sent for the rest of the captains on board, in order to ask their opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were most of them in captain Kirby's way of thinking; which satisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as Kirby phrased it, *there was nothing to be done*, though there was the fairest op-

^p It was upon full evidence of this fact, that captain Kirby (whom the Gazette calls Kirkby) was condemned for cowardice, though on other occasions he had behaved well. It was generally supposed, that he was the author of this scheme; at least, he was charged with being so, by Wade and Constable.

^q This was deplored at the trial, and was not denied by Kirby. After this, the officers of his own ship pressed the admiral to retire to Jamaica, from an apprehension, that these captains, being become desperate, might go over to the enemy, to which the afflicted admiral most unwillingly consented.

portunity that had yet offered. Our strength was, at this time, one ship of seventy guns, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, and three of fifty; their masts, yards, and all things else in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ship, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, and one of them disabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his squadron, very weak with a fever induced by his wounds, and was soon after joined by rear-admiral Whetstone, with the ships under his command^r.

As soon as he conveniently could, vice-admiral Benbow issued a commission to rear-admiral Whetstone, and to several captains, to hold a court-martial for the trial of several offenders^s. On the sixth of October, 1702, the court sat at Port Royal, when captain Kirby, of the *Defiance*, was brought upon his trial. He was accused of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath, by the admiral himself, ten commission, and eleven warrant officers; by whose evidence it appeared that the admiral boarded *Ducasse* in person three times, and received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, before his leg was shot off: that Kirby, after two or three broadsides, kept always out of gun-shot, and by his behaviour created such a fear of his desertion, as greatly discouraged the English in the engagement: that he kept two or three miles a-stern all the second day, though commanded again and again to keep his station: that the third day he did not fire a gun, though he saw the admiral in the deepest distress, having two or three French men of war upon him at a time; and that he threatened to kill his boatswain for repeating the admiral's

^r The reason of his retiring is given in the former note, and the truth of this account is verified in the *histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 203.

^s An account of the arraignments and trials of colonel Richard Kirby, captain John Constable, captain Cooper Wade, captain Samuel Vincent, and captain Christopher Fog, on a complaint exhibited by the judge advocate, on behalf of her majesty, at a court-martial held on board the *Breda*, in Port Royal harbour in Jamaica, &c. for cowardice and other crimes committed by them, in a fight at sea, on the 19th of August, 1702, for which colonel Kirby, and captain Wade, were sentenced to be shot to death. London, 1703, folio.

command

command to fire. He had very little to say for himself, and therefore was most deservedly sentenced to be shot.

The same day captain Constable, of the Windsor, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the rest of the charge being clearly proved, he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. The next day captain Wade was tried, and the charge being fully proved by sixteen commission and warrant-officers on board his own ship, as also, that he was drunk during the whole time of the engagement; he, making little or no defence, had the same sentence with Kirby. As for captain Hudson, he died a few days before his trial should have come on, and thereby avoided dying as Kirby and Wade did; for his case was exactly the same with theirs¹.

Upon the twelfth, came on the trials of captain Vincent, commander of the Falmouth, and captain Fog, who was captain of the admiral's own ship the Breda, for signing, at the persuasion of captain Kirby, a paper, containing an obligation on themselves not to fight the French. The fact was clear, and the captains themselves did not dispute it. All they offered was in

¹ This is taken from the proceedings of the court-martial, which is referred to in the London Gazette, N^o. 3878, where we have the following short account of the whole affair. "As soon as M. Ducasse, with his Squadron, appeared in sight, the admiral immediately made a signal for battle, and attacked the enemy very briskly, and maintained the fight for five days; so that, if he had been seconded by the other ships of his Squadron, he would certainly have taken or destroyed all the French; but four of his ships did not assist him; the Ruby on the 21st was disabled, and afterwards sent to Port Royal, and the whole burden lay upon the admiral and the Falmouth; who, however, took a prize, being an English vessel, which the enemy had formerly taken from us; disabled the enemy's second ship, so that they were obliged to tow her away, and very much shattered the rest of their Squadron, which since is put into Porto Bello. The admiral on the 24th, had his leg broke by a chain-shot, which yet, did not discourage him from continuing the fight; yet, not being able to prevail with his captains to concur with him in that opinion, he was obliged to give over his design. On the 6th of October, rear admiral Whetstone, by commission from the admiral, held a court-martial, wherein captain Kirby, and captain Cooper Wade, were, for cowardice and breach of orders, condemned to be shot to death, but the execution respited, till her majesty's pleasure should be known. Captain Constable being cleared of cowardice, was for breach of orders, cashiered from her majesty's service, and condemned to imprisonment, during her pleasure. Captain Hudson died before the trial."

extenuation of their offence; and amounted only to this, that they were apprehensive Kirby would have deserted to the enemy, and they took this step to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly passed on the court-martial, if the admiral himself had not given some weight to their excuses, by declaring, that however they might be overseen in subscribing that paper, yet they certainly behaved themselves very gallantly in the fight. For the sake of discipline, the court, however, thought fit to suspend them; and yet, to favour the captains, this judgment was given with a proviso that intirely took off its edge, *viz.* That it should not commence till his royal highness's pleasure should be known ^u.

I cannot help taking notice of secretary Burchet's odd way of telling this story: in the first place he conceals the names of the criminals; out of respect, he says, to their families, and because one of them (but he doth not tell us which) had behaved well before. He then turns himself to admiral Benbow, and gives him a sort of negative character in the following words: "Thus much may be observed as to vice-admiral Benbow's conduct, that although he was a good seaman, and a gallant man; and that he was qualified in most respects to command a squadron, especially in the West Indies; in which part of the world he had had long experience; yet when he found his captains so very remiss in their duty, I think he ought; in point of discretion, to have summoned them; and even that at first, on board his own ship, and there confined them; and placed their first lieutenants in their rooms, who would have fought well; were it for no other reason than the hopes of being continued in those commands, had they survived ^w."

^u Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 169. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 304. Trials of colonel Kirby, &c. p. 13, 14.

^w Naval history, p. 598. The captains who suffered, had some very great relations, and, in all probability, a desire of being well with them, prevented the inserting the names of these offenders in this celebrated performance. But to be so tender of them, and, in the very same breath, to attack obliquely the character of so worthy a man as admiral Benbow, does no great honour to his history. Bishop Burnet, likewise, who is so ready on every occasion to attack the character of Sir George Rooke, vice-admiral Graydon, and many others of our naval commanders, is wholly silent in respect to this business, there being not the least trace of it in any part of his works, influenced no doubt by the same motive, that wrought so powerfully upon secretary Burchet.

This, I must confess, does not by any means satisfy me. Admiral Benbow was no prophet: he could not foretel that these captains would behave ill, nor could he be sure that they did behave ill, till they had frequently disobeyed his signals. Part of the time he was warmly engaged, and that could be no reason for consultation; and part of the time the weather was foul, and then he could not call them on board. Besides, he was surrounded by bad men, and thought himself in so little capacity of punishing these people at sea, that he retired to Jamaica, purely to be safe. But it would, methinks, have suited Mr. Burchet's purpose better, to have gone to the bottom of this affair, which, for any thing I can learn, the world is unacquainted with yet, and therefore I think myself obliged to publish it.

The admiral was an honest, rough seaman, and fancied that his command was bestowed upon him for no other reason, than that he should serve his country: this induced him to treat captain Kirby, and the rest of the gentlemen, a little briskly at Jamaica, when he found them not quite so ready to obey his orders as he thought was their duty; and this it was that engaged them in the base and wicked design, of putting it out of his power to engage the French, presuming that, as so many were concerned in it, they might be able to justify themselves, and throw the blame upon the admiral, and so they hoped to be rid of him. But his rugged honesty baffled them; and we may guess at the spirit of the man, by the answer he gave one of his lieutenants, who expressed his sorrow for the loss of his leg. "I am sorry for it too," says the gallant Benbow; "but I had rather have lost them both, than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight 'it out'."

The turn given by the French to this affair, is very extraordinary. They tell us, that admiral Benbow, at the distance of twelve leagues from Santa Martha, with seven men of war, attacked M. Ducaffe, who, though he had but four, did not refuse to fight. The engagement lasted five days, and on the

* The reader will meet with some other particulars in the memoirs of admiral Benbow, contained in the fourth volume, and communicated by his descendants.

sixth Benbow made all the sail he could for Jamaica. He had a leg shattered, and died a little while afterwards: his ships were most of them in no condition to keep the sea, more than half their crews being killed. Only one ship of M. Ducasse's squadron suffered, and he had but twenty men killed and wounded in the whole. However, he did not care to pursue Benbow, who he did not believe to be in so bad a condition as he really was, and therefore he made the best of his way to Carthage, where he arrived in a few days, and where his presence gave now as much joy as it had formerly (that is, when he plundered it in conjunction with monsieur Pointe) given terror. This is a very florid, and at the same time a very false account of the affair, and from thence we may learn the value of inquiries, since the court-martial at Jamaica, by their proceedings, set this whole business in its true light, and left us undeniable evidence, that it was not their own bravery, but the treachery of Benbow's captains, that saved the French squadron.

The reflections he made on this unlucky business, threw the brave admiral into a deep melancholy, which soon brought him to his end; for he died on the fourth of November, 1702, as much regretted as he deserved*. The command of the squadron then devolved on captain Whetstone, who in this expedition acted as rear-admiral, and of whose proceedings in the West Indies we shall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time, it is requisite that we should follow the condemned captains home, in order to put an end to this disagreeable narration. They were sent from Jamaica, on board her majesty's ship the Bristol, and arrived at Plymouth on the 16th of April, 1703, where (as in all the western ports) there lay a dead warrant for their immediate execution, in order to prevent any applications in their favour; and they were accordingly shot on board the ship that brought them home, and shewed at their death a courage and constancy of mind, which made it evident,

* This French account is taken from the *histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 202, 203, 204. But M. Ducasse was too brave a man to gloss things in such a manner; as the reader will be convinced by reading his letter to admiral Benbow, which will be found in his memoirs.

* London Gazette, N^o. 3386. *Mercurius historicus et politicus*, tom. xxiv. p. 335. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 50. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 497.

that their behaviour in the late engagement did not flow from any infirmity of nature, but from the corruption of their minds; and I hope their example will always have a proper effect on such as are intrusted with the like commands*.

I should now, according to the order I have hitherto pursued in this work, take notice of what was transacted at home, in relation to the navy, and particularly of what passed in parliament upon this subject; but as the queen's proclamation for a thanksgiving, in which honourable mention is made of the success at Vigo, and the thanks bestowed by the house of commons on Sir George Rooke for his conduct in that affair, will appear with greater propriety, when I come to the memoirs of his life; to avoid repetitions I shall not insist further upon them here. I must however observe, that as, in the case of Kirby and Wade, her majesty shewed a strict regard to justice, so, with respect to admiral Hopson, she gave as lively a testimony of her just sense of merit, for she not only conferred on him the honour of knighthood, but was graciously pleased to settle upon him a pension of 500*l.* a-year for life, with the reversion of 300*l.* a-year to his lady, in case she survived him, on account of the prodigious service he did in breaking the boom at Vigo^b.

But this extraordinary mark of royal favour did not (as indeed it ought not) screen him from a strict examination in the house of lords, in conjunction with Sir George Rooke, as to the miscarriage of the design upon Cadiz; but upon the strictest review that could be made of that whole affair, there appeared so little colour for censuring either of the admirals' actions, that how much soever their enemies might desire it, they were at last glad to let this matter fall. Indeed the fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was possible for the service of the nation, and had thereby afforded an opportunity to our worthy minister at Lisbon, Mr. Methuen, to draw over from his alliance with the two crowns, the king of

* See the London Gazette, N^o. 3907. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303. The complete history of Europe, for 1703, p. 13.

^b This was published in the Gazette of November 30, 1702, with this addition, that he was introduced to the queen, when he received the honour of knighthood, by the hand of his royal highness, prince George of Denmark, lord High-admiral of England. See the complete history of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 452.

Portugal, to the interest of the allies, and to conclude a treaty of commerce there; which, to say no more, has been of much greater benefit to the nation, than many, I might add most, of the treaties that have been concluded since ^c.

There had hitherto appeared very little of party-opposition to the management of the war, and therefore the supplies for the service of the year 1703, were very cheerfully granted, and very easily raised, which was the reason that the fleet was much earlier at sea, had all things provided in a better manner, at less expence to the nation, and yet sooner than they had ever been before, which was one great reason why the French never had any of those advantages they boasted of so much in the former war. In the month of March the queen made ^d of naval promotion. The marquis of Caermarthen was advanced from being vice-admiral of the white, to be vice-ad-

^c Bishop Burnet gives this account. "A committee of the house of peers sat long upon the matter: they examined all the admirals and land-officers, as well as Rooke himself, upon the whole progress of that affair. Rooke was so well supported by the court, and by his party in the house of commons, that he seemed to despise all that the lords could do; some who understood sea-matters, said, that it appeared from every motion during the expedition, that he intended to do nothing but amuse and make a shew; they also concluded, from the protection that the ministry gave him, that they intended no other. He took much pains to shew, how improper a thing a descent on Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt must have proved: and in doing this, he arraigned his instructions, and the design he was sent on, with great boldness; and shewed little regard to the ministers, who took more pains to bring him off, than to justify themselves. The lords of the committee prepared a report, which was hard upon Rooke, and laid it before the house; but so strong a party was made to oppose every thing that reflected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, justifying his conduct." The truth of this matter is, that as Sir George Rooke knew nothing of his orders, until he came to execute them; so he was absolutely free from dependence on any minister, and spoke what he thought with the greatest intrepidity. The main of his defence was this, that his orders were contradictory; that the chief of them required his bringing over the Spaniards, if possible, to the interest of the house of Austria, and the rest enjoined him to sink their ships and burn the town, which he found scarce practicable; and if it had been more so, not at all eligible, since at first the inhabitants did not discover any enmity: and if more had been done, it could only have served to have made the Spaniards implacable; and after all, perhaps the town might not have been taken.

^d Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 2. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3896.

miral

miral of the red; John Graydon, Esq; was made vice-admiral of the white; John Leake, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue; George Byng, Esq; rear-admiral of the red; Thomas Dilkes, Esq; rear-admiral of the white, and Bazil Beaumont, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue^c.

The first scheme that was formed for performing any thing remarkable at sea, was upon a foreign plan. It was intended, that the arch-duke Charles, who was to take upon him the title of king of Spain, should also marry an infanta of Portugal, and, in consequence of that marriage, was to undertake something of importance immediately, with the assistance however of the English and Dutch; and so hearty were the latter, that they sent a squadron of men of war, with near three thousand land troops on board, upon our coast, and after toiling and tumbling there for some weeks, the project in the council of the imperial court was changed, the design dropt, and the Dutch went home again^f.

Sir George Rooke had proposed a scheme for distressing the enemy, by sailing very early into the bay of Biscay, where he thought, if they had any men of war without Port Louis and

^c The supplies granted this year, amounted to 3,517,957 l. 7 s. 3 d. which in those days was thought an immense sum, though we have since seen much larger granted, without being well able to tell whether for peace or war. As to the promotion, it was declared in the Gazette of March 15, 1702, N^o. 3896, and was at that time highly applauded, because it was generally conceived, that those gentlemen were promoted purely in regard to their merit. It was also said at that time, that Mr. Graydon was advanced on another officer's refusing to serve in the West Indies.

^f This was among the number of those things which gave great offence to the states of Holland. They actually equipped a squadron, embarked on board it 3000 land troops, and sent them so early as the month of January on the coast of England, where they were to be joined by twenty sail of English men of war, with 3000 land troops: but the Portuguese match being lost, and the councils of the imperial court taking a sudden turn, this expedition was dropt, and then it was given out, that it was intended for the West Indies; which, whatever effect it might have abroad, created abundance of groundless reflections at home, as if we had neglected making war in that part of the world, where we were most able to have carried it on with success, and so have drawn advantages from it. But the truth is, our allies would never consent to our making any conquests in the Spanish West Indies, and this rumour of the fleets going thither, was only spread to alarm the Spaniards, and produce some good effects in Europe.

Rochfort, they might be surprized and taken, or at least the commerce might be interrupted; and for the performance of this scheme, he took it upon himself^a. About the middle of the month of April he arrived at St. Helen's, with eighteen ships of the line^b, with which he was very desirous of sailing on the intended expedition, without waiting for the Dutch; but this proposition was not at first accepted; so that he remained there till the beginning of the month of May, when he was so ill that he kept his bed, though bishop Burnet is so charitable as to suggest, that he was only sick of the expedition; which, had it been true, was no reflection upon him, since the execution of what he proposed depended entirely on its being done in time, and the putting off his departure was chargeable on those who were vested with that authority which commanded him¹.

^a There could not well be a greater sign of his being in earnest; and, as to the nature of the proposal, it was certainly well calculated for preventing the French from reaping any benefit from their trade with Spain, or the Spaniards from feeling any effects of French protection. This agreed exactly with the maxim upon which Sir George Rooke always went, of treating the French as enemies, and the Spaniards as allies. For it was his opinion, and he was not shy of declaring it, that it might be very practicable to retrieve Spain, though impossible to conquer it. Let it be considered, how far this was justified by the event.

^b Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. xiii. Boyer's life of queen Anne, Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3906.

ⁱ That I may not seem to charge this prelate rashly, I will produce his own words: "This year things at sea (says he) were ill designted, and worse executed: the making prince George our lord high-admiral, proved in many instances very unhappy to the nation: men of bad designs imposed on him; he understood those matters very little, and they sheltered themselves under his name, to which a great submission was paid; but the complaints rose the higher for that; our main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; so Rooke was sent out to alarm the coast of France: he lingered long in port, pretending ill health; upon that Churchill was sent to command the fleet; but Rooke's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aside that pretence, and went to sea, where he continued a month; but in such a station, as if his design had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which sailed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not so much as to disturb their quiet, by coming near their coasts; ~~he~~ last he returned without having attempted any thing."

The

The truth, however, was, that the admiral found himself so ill, that he applied for leave to go to the Bath, which was granted him; and George Churchill, Esq; admiral of the blue; was sent to take upon him the command. But he not arriving in time, and Sir George finding himself better, put to sea, and continued at sea for something more than a month; and then finding what he suspected at the Isle of Wight to be true, that the enemy had notice of his design, and that most of their squadrons had failed; and therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no service by remaining longer on the French coast; returned home about the middle of June, that he might be ready to undertake any more necessary service^k.

This expedition has the misfortune to displease secretary Burchet, who says, that in his poor opinion^l, a squadron of small ships might have had better success; and, in my poor opinion, Sir George Rooke was as good a judge of the probability of this as he. The question in such cases is not the success, but the contrivance and execution of the scheme; and if these be right, the conduct of the commander cannot be wrong, and therefore ought not to be blamed. When Sir George Rooke returned, he was still so weak and infirm, that he asked and had leave to go to Bath^m, his superiors seeing no reason to censure his behaviour; and therefore, as soon as he was able to undertake it, we shall find him again in command, and employed in a service of much greater importance.

The grand fleet was commanded this year by Sir Cloudesley Shovelⁿ. It consisted at first of twenty-seven ships of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterwards reinforced with eight

^k Sir George sailed, as appears by the Gazette, on the 9th of May. On the 23d, he sent in the *Lenox* to Portsmouth, with a French East India ship worth 100,000*l*. on the 25th of June, he sent in Lord Dursley, who commanded the *Litchfield*, with a French man of war of 36 guns, and a West India merchantman, worth 40,000*l*. and on the 22d of June, Sir George returned with many prizes from the West Indies. This is the plain English of the prelate's *without attempting any thing*.

^l Naval hist. p. 645.

^m See our memoirs of Sir George Rooke, in this

vol. ⁿ Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 358. Burchet's naval hist. book v. chap. xiv. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 96. Lond. G22. N^o. 3928.

ships more, these were commanded by vice-admiral Leake^o. His instructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to these three heads, *viz.* annoying the enemy, assisting our allies, and protecting our trade. He waited till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ships of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him, had been better adjusted than it was to the things he had orders to perform, yet the time allowed him, which was only till the end of September, was much too short; so that it was really impossible for him to execute the services that seemed to be expected^p. He represented this, and is commended for it by bishop Burnet^q; who had notwithstanding censured another admiral for the same thing before; however, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to obey, and he did so, but was not able to get clear of the land till near the middle of July, having also a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchant-men under his convoy.

On the twenty-fourth he arrived off the rock of Lisbon, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea-bay^r. He pursued his instructions as far as he was able; and having secured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have staid some time upon the coast of Italy. But the Dutch admiral informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a speedy return; and it was with much difficulty that Sir Cloudesley Shovel prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn^s. In the mean time, the instructions he had to succour the Cevennois, who were then in arms against the French king, were found impracticable with a fleet;

^o Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3931, 3933.

^p This, as I observe in the text, is ingeniously confessed by bishop Burnet, who carries his reflections on this subject very far; he says, it was not easy to imagine what the design of so great an expedition could be. Much was said to the same purpose in the house of lords; but nobody reflected upon the admiral, as indeed there was no reason for it. But then, I confess I do not see why the same justice should not be done to other admirals, when their conduct appears to have been as innocent, or as laudable.

^q History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 358. ^r Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 312. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 98. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3941.

^s Burchet's naval hist. p. 653. The complete history of Europe, for 1703, p. 475. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3955, 3958.

and therefore the admiral contented himself with doing all that could be done, which was to send the Tartar and the Pembroke upon that coast, where they also found it impossible to do any thing^t. The admiral then detached captain Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and sent rear-admiral Byng to Algier, to renew the peace with those states, and on the twenty-second of September arrived off Altea, from whence he soon after sailed for England^u.

On the twenty-seventh, in the Streights-mouth, he met with an Algerine man of war becalmed, upon which he immediately took her under his protection, till all the Dutch ships were passed. In this he certainly performed the part of an English admiral, preserved the reputation of our flag, did great service to our trade, and put it out of the power of the French to practise upon those piratical states to our disadvantage, as they had done formerly^v. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant ships waited for a convoy at Lisbon, he sent Sir Andrew Leake thither with a small squadron^x, who escorted them safe into the Downs^y.

On the sixteenth of November, the fleet being off the Isle of Wight, the Dutch crowded away for their own ports, and left the admiral to steer for the Downs, which he did; but before he made land, captain (afterwards Sir John) Norris in the Or-

^t It is clear, that the Dutch were victualled for still a shorter time than our fleet; and, if I durst, I would suggest, that our ministry were obliged to comply with the schemes of our allies, in such joint expeditions. Mr. Oldmixon has given a large account of the attempt made in favour of the Cevennois, and has fully vindicated the admiral's conduct.

^u London Gazette, N^o. 3961, 3966. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 107.

^v Burchet's naval history, p. 655.

^x Lond. Gaz.

N^o. 3969.

^y It is certain, that Sir Cloudesley gained as much reputation in this expedition, as it was possible for an admiral to do who had no opportunity of fighting; and therefore, those people seem to carry things too far, who say that this fleet did neither hurt our enemies, nor protect our friends; whereas, in truth, all circumstances considered, it did both; and our allies the Dutch were very well contented with what was done; imagining, that the protection of their own trade was a matter of as great importance, at least to them, as the support of king Charles's title to the crown of Spain, which the court of Vienna left at that time latently to the confederates.

ford, a ship of the third rate, together with the *Warspight* of seventy guns, and the *Litchfield* of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chase to a French ship of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the dispute continued till two in the morning, when, having lost her fore-top-mast, and all her sails, and her standing and running-rigging being much shattered, she struck. This ship came from Newfoundland, was commanded by Monsieur de la Rue, was named the *Hazardous*, and had fifty guns mounted, with three hundred and seventy men; but had more ports, and was larger than any of our sixty-gun ships, so that she was registered in the list of our royal navy².

This expedition did not reflect much honour upon the nation, and therefore it created some murmurs; but these fell where they ought; not upon the admiral, who certainly did all that was in his power, but upon those who framed the project, and gave the admiral his instructions, and who were thought to have rather more power than parts.

But while the grand fleet was at sea, rear-admiral Dilkes performed a very acceptable service to his country on the French coast. For the lord high-admiral's council having intelligence, that a considerable fleet of French merchant-ships, with their convoy, were in Cancall-bay, orders were sent to the rear-admiral, who was then at Spithead with a small squadron, to sail immediately in pursuit of them, which he did on the twenty-second of July¹. On the twenty-fourth, he ordered the captain of the *Nonfuch* to stretch a-head of the squadron, and stand as near Alderney as he could, and send his boat ashore to gain intelligence. On the twenty-fifth he stood towards the *Casquets* for the same purpose, and at six in the evening anchored off the south-west part of Jersey; from whence he sent captain Chamberlain, commander of the *Spy* brigantine, to the governor, that he might obtain from him the best intelligence he could give.

¹ Burchet's naval history, p. 656. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii, p. 313. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 85, 86. London Gaz. No. 3968.

² Burchet's naval history. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 12. Lond. Gaz. No. 3934.

The governor sent to him captain James Lamprier, and captain Thomas Pipon, who well understood that coast, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty sail, plying to the windward on the fifteenth to get to Granville, the rear-admiral, upon consultation at a council of war with the pilots, resolved to sail immediately, though the tide fell cross in the night, that getting clear of the westernmost rocks of the Minques, he might attack the enemy by break of day; which succeeded perfectly well; for the next morning, the twenty-sixth, by day-light, perceiving the enemy at an anchor about a league to the westward of Granville, they, upon his approach, got under sail, and stood in for the shore.

The rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to consist of forty-three merchant-ships, and three men of war. Being come within four feet water more than the ship drew, he manned all his boats, and the rest of the ships did the same. By noon he took fifteen sail, burnt six, and sunk three; the rest stood so far into a bay, between Avranché and the mount of St. Michael, that in the judgment of the pilots, our ships could not attack them; whereupon, on the twenty-seventh in the morning, it was resolved at a council of war, to go into the bay with the *Hector*, *Mermaid*, a fire-ship, the *Spy* brigantine, a ship of six guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted out as a fire-ship, and all the boats of the squadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being present, accompanied by captain Fairfax, captain Legg, and captain Mighells; as also by the captains Lamprier and Pipon^b.

There were three ships equipped for war, one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt, the second of fourteen guns, which Mr. Paul, first lieutenant of the *Kent*, set on fire, who in this service was shot through the lower jaw, and four men killed, and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant-ships were burnt and destroyed, by this second attack, so that of the whole fleet only four

^b Boyer's life of queen Anne. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome xxxv. p. 230, 231.

escaped, by getting under the command of Granville-fort. The enemy, during this attack, sent several large shallops from Granville, but with no success, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another vessel of six guns, with forty, who covered all the boats. This last vessel unfortunately run a-ground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. There were, during the time of this action, about five thousand of the enemy seen on shore, but they did not advance near enough to do their own people any service, or ours any hurt. The queen, to testify her kind acceptance of so chearful and so effectual a service, ordered gold medals to be struck on this occasion, and delivered to the rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly had very well deserved them^c.

We are now to speak of the greatest disaster that had happened within the memory of man, at least, by the fury of the winds, I mean the storm which began on the twenty-sixth of November, 1703, about eleven in the evening, the wind being W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flashes of lightning, till about seven the next morning. The water flowed to a great height in Westminster-hall, and London-bridge was in a manner stopt up with wrecks. The mischief done in London was computed at not less than a million, and the city of Bristol suffered upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. But the greatest loss fell upon our navy, of which there perished no less than thirteen ships, upwards of fifteen hundred seamen were drowned^d; amongst whom was Basil Beaumont, Esq;

^c See the Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3937, 3938.

^d The following is the best account that can be given of the particulars of this great loss :

I. The Reserve, a fourth rate, captain John Anderson commander, lost at Yarmouth. The captain, the surgeon, the clerk, and 44 men saved; the rest of the crew drowned, being 175.

II. The Vanguard, a second rate, sunk in Chatham harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

III. The Northumberland, a third rate, captain Greenway, lost on the Goodwin sands; all her company was lost, being 220 men, including twenty-four marines.

IV. The Sterling Castle, a third rate, captain Johnson, on the Goodwin sands, 70 men, of which were four marine officers saved, the rest were drowned, being 206.

V. The

Esq; rear-admiral of the blue, who had been employed all that year in observing the Dunkirk squadron, and had by his great care and conduct preserved our merchant-ships from falling into the hands of the French privateers; which service appeared the more considerable by the great losses the Dutch this year sustained*. He was in all other respects a man well qualified for

V. The *Mary*, a fourth rate, rear-admiral Beaumont, captain Edward Hopson, on the Goodwin sands, the captain and purser ashore; one man, whose name was Thomas Atkins, saved; the rest, to the number of 269, with the rear-admiral, drowned. The escape of this Atkins was very remarkable. He saw the rear-admiral, when the ship was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter-deck, from which he was soon washed off; and about the same time, Atkins was tossed by a wave into the *Sterling-Castle*, which sinking soon after, he was thrown the third man into her boat, by a wave that washed him from the wreck.

VI. The *York*, a fourth rate, captain Smith, lost at Harwich; all her men saved except four.

VII. The *Mortar-bomb*, a fifth rate, captain Raymond, on the Goodwin sands; all her company lost, being 45.

VIII. The *Eagle* advice-boat, a sixth rate, captain Bostock, lost on the coast of Suffex; all her company, being 45, saved.

IX. The *Resolution*, a third rate, captain Lisle, on the coast of Suffex; all her company, being 222, saved.

X. The *Litchfield-prize*, a fifth rate, captain Chamberlain, on the coast of Suffex; all her company, being 108, saved.

XI. The *Newcastle*, a fourth rate, captain Carter, lost at Spithead; the carpenter and 39 men were saved, and the rest, being 193, drowned.

XII. The *Vesuvius* fire-ship, a fifth rate, captain Paddon, at Spithead; all her company, being 48, saved.

XIII. The *Restoration*, a third rate, captain Emms, 387 men, on the Goodwin sands; not one saved.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was then in the Downs with several great ships, which were all in the utmost danger; he cut his main-mast by the board, which saved the ship from running on the Galloper of the breach, of which she was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying to the Association, in which he was driven first to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home till the next year. The *Revenge* was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving some time on the coast of Holland, got into the river Medway; the *Rusel*, captain Townsend, was forced over to Holland, and the *Dorset*, captain Edward Whitaker, after striking thrice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at sea, and then got safe to the Nore.

* Burchet's naval hist. book v. chap. 15. Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3271.

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the service of his country, and what made his loss most regretted, he died in the flower of his age, and in the heat of the war. These losses, how much soever they might affect us at home, served in some measure to raise our reputation abroad, for orders were immediately issued for building more ships than were destroyed; and the queen, by several gracious bounties, gave such and so speedy relief to shipwrecked seamen, and to the distressed widows of such as were drowned, as might have endeared her to her subjects, if she had not already so fully possessed their hearts, as to render any increase of affection impossible.

Charles, arch-duke of Austria, being declared king of Spain by his father, and owned as such by the allies, Sir George Rooke was sent in the month of October to Holland, in order to convoy his Catholic majesty to Lisbon^s. There the Dutch not being ready, the admiral was forced to continue for some time, and then the great storm occasioned a new delay; at last he embarked, and with a joint squadron of English and Dutch ships, and a considerable number of transports, with land-forces on board, he arrived at Spithead on the twenty-sixth of

^s On the 11th of December, the queen published a proclamation for a general fast, on Wednesday the 19th of January following, which was kept with wonderful strictness; in the Gazette of December 16th, the lord high-admiral, by an advertisement dated the 13th, gives notice, that the companies of her majesty's ships which were cast away, should be paid that day month, which was done accordingly; and in the Gazette, N^o. 3978, appeared the following order:

" Her majesty taking into consideration, the great loss sustained by the families of such, as being in her majesty's service at sea, perished by the late storm; her majesty, with the advice of her privy council, is pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered accordingly, that the widows and families of such commission and other officers and seamen as have perished by reason of the late storm, in her majesty's service at sea, be intitled to her majesty's bounty in the same manner, as if they had been actually killed in fight, in her majesty's service at sea, according to the establishment in that behalf. And his royal highness prince George of Denmark, lord high-admiral, is desired to give the necessary directions herein accordingly."

The house of commons, which was then sitting, addressed her majesty upon this melancholy occasion, desiring her to give immediate directions for repairing this loss, and to build such capital ships as she should think fit, and promised to make good the expence at their next meeting.

^s Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3959.

Decem-

December^a; he was there complimented by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, on the road to Windsor met by his royal highness the prince of Denmark, and on his arrival was received with all imaginable marks of respect by the queen, for whom he shewed greater deference than was even expected by the English court^b. Here we will end the naval transactions in Europe for this year, and proceed to take a view of what passed in America, after the death of admiral Benbow in Jamaica^c.

The

^a Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3979.

^b Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 354. "About the end of December, (says the bishop), the king of Spain landed at Portsmouth. The duke of Somerset was sent by the queen to receive him, and to bring him to an interview, which was to be at Windsor; prince George went and met him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence; the court was very splendid, and much thronged, the queen's behaviour towards him was very noble and obliging: the young king charmed all that were there; he had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modesty, his behaviour was in all points so exact, that there was not a circumstance in his whole deportment that was liable to censure: he paid an extraordinary respect to the queen, and yet maintained a due greatness in it; he had an art of seeming well pleased with every thing, without so much as smiling once all the while he was at court, which was only three days: he spoke but little, and all he said was judicious and obliging." Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 225. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3980.

^c Most of our historians have placed Sir George Rooke's voyage to Lisbon in 1703, which is what I do not understand, since he did not leave England till the month of January, 1704. and therefore I have contented myself with placing that part of his expedition within this year, which fell out in it, and left the rest to be related in its proper place. I shall take this opportunity of observing, that the arch duke Charles was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, on the 12th of September, N. S. his journey to Portugal being then resolved on. The choice made of Sir George Rooke to bring him over hither, and convey him to Lisbon, was a clear proof that his conduct was equally approved at home and abroad. Indeed it could not be otherwise, for every body at this time, was satisfied that our ministry designed to place king Charles III. on the throne of Spain, partly by assisting the Spaniards, who shoud declare for him, but chiefly by compelling the French to abandon the cause of his rival. Now this was exactly agreeable to Sir George Rooke's way of thinking, who was for treating the Spaniards kindly, and fighting only with the French. This being considered, we may easily account for the making choice of Sir George Rooke to command this fleet, though it will not be easy to divine, why those writers bear hardest on Sir George's character, who are fondest of lord Godolphin's

The command devolving upon captain Whetstone, whom Mr. Benbow had appointed rear-admiral of his squadron, he immediately put it into the best condition possible for going to sea, and then cruized on the coast of Hispaniola. On his return to Jamaica an opportunity offered of shewing his great concern for the interests of the colony. A fire breaking out at Port-Royal on the ninth of February, 1703, about noon, burnt it down to the ground before night, leaving nothing standing but the two fortifications. In this sad distress of the inhabitants, which still would have been much greater, if the seamen, with great courage and industry, had not assisted in preserving their goods and stores, the rear-admiral published a proclamation, in which he promised to entertain and relieve all such as should desire it, on board her majesty's ships, until they could be otherwise provided for; which he with great care and tenderness performed¹.

Soon after this he sailed again on a cruize, in hopes of meeting a considerable fleet of merchant-ships, which were expected from France. He spent five weeks in search of them to no purpose; and after looking into Port Lewis, not finding any thing there, he stood away for Petit Guavas and Leogane. When he arrived near this port, he divided his squadron, because when admiral Benbow attacked the enemy here, their ships escaped on one side, as he entered on the other. He therefore sailed westward with part of his ships, and sent the rest to the south. When these came in sight, three privateers, which were in every respect ready for service, stood away northward; but the rear-admiral forcing two of them ashore, burnt them, and the other he took. Captain Vincent, who commanded to the southward, rowed in the night into a place called the Cul de Sac, where he found four ships, one of which he burnt, another he sunk, the third (which was a consort of the privateers aforementioned) he towed out, and boarded the fourth, she was blown up by the accidental firing of a grenado-

dolphin's measures, which we have shewn to be a thing absolutely absurd, since they thought alike, and adopted the single plan that could so much as promise success.

¹ Burchet's naval hist. p. 598. Annals of queen Anne. London Gazette, No. 3886, 3897. British empire in America, vol. ii.

shell. From this place the rear-admiral sailed to Port de Paix, but found no shipping there; for the before-mentioned privateers were all that the enemy had in those parts, with which, and five hundred men, they thought to have made an attempt on the north-side of Jamaica; and in these ships were taken one hundred and twenty prisoners^a.

While rear-admiral Whetstone was thus employed, they were far from forgetting the safety of the plantations at home. Sir George Rooke, in the month of September, 1702, detached from the Mediterranean captain Hovenden Walker in the *Burford*, five more third rates, ten transports, and four regiments on board, for the Leeward-islands; he arrived in Barbadoes in the beginning of the month of January; and upon the coming thither soon after of six of our East India ships richly laden, he, by the advice of a council of war, sent them home under the convoy of the Expedition, a third rate, captain Knapp commander, who brought them safely to England. From Barbadoes, commodore Walker sailed to Antigua, where he joined colonel Coddington, who was about undertaking an expedition to Guadaloupe, in which captain Walker was to assist him. They sailed from Antigua the latter end of February; on the twelfth of March, general Coddington landed with great part of the forces, but was so warmly received by the French, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if commodore Walker had not sent in the *Chichester*, which drove the enemy from their batteries, which our men quickly entered^a. The next day the rest of the soldiers, and four hundred seamen were landed, who attacked the north part of the town with great fury, forced the enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the castle and fort, which they defended

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 602. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 6. London Gazette, No. 3926. It is very remarkable, that Pere le Pers, in his accurate history of St. Domingo, has nothing of this expedition, which could not possibly have escaped his notice any more than that which was intended by the French against Jamaica. But as no honour could arise to his countrymen from the relation of what passed in this part of the world at this time, he thought proper to be silent, rather than record the advantages gained by the English.

^a Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. vi. *Columna rostrata*, p. 192. The complete hist. of Europe, for 1703, p. 131. Lond. Gaz. No. 3912.

to the third of April, and then blowing them both up; retired to the mountains. After this our troops ravaged all the country, burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, carried the best of the artillery on board, burst the rest, and with a very great booty embarked, without the loss of a man^o.

The French writers give a different account of this affair, and because the English thought fit to retreat, they will needs have it the proof of a victory on their side^o. Now as to this retreat, there were many reasons for it, and some indeed that rendered it indispensibly necessary. General Coddington fell sick, and was forced to return to Nevis; then colonel Whetham, upon whom the command devolved, fell also dangerously ill, and was carried to Antigua. The command of the land-forces fell next to colonel Willis, who, upon certain information that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to embark the forces; and this was accordingly done, as I have before observed, on the seventh of May^q. It must be acknowledged, that this service suffered not a little from some disputes that happened between the land and sea-officers; which is, generally speaking, the ruin of our West India expeditions^r.

As

^o There were some unlucky circumstances attended this expedition. In the first place, when captain Walker arrived, the land-forces had no powder, with which, however, they were furnished from the fleet. When they came next to examine their stores closely, it was found, that in a thousand flints, there were not fifty fit for muskets, nor had they mortars, bombs, pick-axes, spades, or indeed any thing proper and convenient for a siege. But we must take care not to attribute this mismanagement either to commodore Walker, who commanded here, or to Sir George Rooke, who sent him, since they both acted in obedience to orders; the commodore to those of the admiral, and the admiral receiving his from the ministry, who ought to have considered better what they were doing.

^p Quincy *histoire militaire de Louis XIV.* tom. iv. P. Daniel *journal historique de Louis XIV.* p. 211. Limieres de Larrey, the last mentioned French historian, says, that Monsieur Gabaret, arriving at Fort St. Mary's, with two frigates, a flute, nine armed barks, and seven hundred men, to the assistance of the inhabitants, the English did not think themselves a force sufficient to withstand them, and therefore re-embarked.

^q Burehet's naval history, p. 604.

^r The governors of our colonies have scarce ever been able to agree with the commanders of our squadrons, and with respect to this very expedition, there

As soon as the news of vice-admiral Benbow's misfortune and death arrived in England, it was resolved to send another flag-officer thither with a considerable squadron. This command, it is said, was offered to Sir Stafford Fairborne, who refused it¹; and then it was proposed to Mr. Graydon, who, though a certain prelate² styles him a brutal man, made this answer, "That it was his duty to go where the queen thought proper to command him, and that he knew no difference of climates, when he was to obey her orders." His instructions may be found at large in Burchet³, and the strength he was to take with him, consisting only of a third, a fourth, and a fifth rate; which last proved unfit for the voyage, and therefore the Montague of sixty, and the Nonsuch of fifty guns, were ordered to see him a hundred and fifty leagues into the sea. They sailed about the middle of March, and on the eighteenth of that month they saw four French ships to leeward, viz. two of sixty, one of fifty, and another of forty guns⁴. This last being both the smallest and sternmost, the Montague, commanded by captain William Cleveland, bore down to, and soon after engaged her. Hereupon the vice-admiral made the signal for a line of battle, and consequently for the Montague's coming off; but her fore-top-sail being shot in pieces the second broadside she received from the enemy, she could not tack so soon as otherwise might have been expected, insomuch, that the other three French

were as warm complaints made against the commodore, as ever came from the West Indies: but he represented, that the road of Guadaloupe was excessively bad; that he found it impossible to procure pilots; that several of the ships lost their anchors, the ground being foul, and the water deep, so that some or other were daily forced out to sea; and added to this, that the troops were under excessive difficulties, having no guides to conduct them, and being under the utmost want of necessaries to support them. Besides, the island was not abandoned, till the expedition had cost us pretty dear, as appears by the following account of our loss. There were killed in the first action, one major, two captains, and six lieutenants; and wounded, two colonels, seven captains, and nine lieutenants; and three ensigns died. One hundred and fifty-four soldiers were killed; two hundred and eleven wounded; seventy-two died; fifty-nine deserted; and twelve were taken prisoners.

¹ Mercure historique et politique, tom. xxxiv. p. 338.

² Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 359.

³ Naval history p. 600.

⁴ Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 2. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Mercure historique et politique, tom. xxxiv. p. 338.

ships wore, and bearing down to the ship that had been engaged, each of them fired her broadside at the Montague; but she being to windward, and the sea running high, as the French generally fire in hopes of wounding masts, yards, or rigging, all their shot flew over her, so that she received not any considerable damage. The French ships (which now made the best of their way from ours) were foul, for they were part of the squadron under command of Monsieur Ducaffe, with which vice-admiral Benbow engaged in the West Indies, and (as it was reported) were very rich ².

This affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral, who, notwithstanding, seems to have acted according to the best of his abilities; and in saying this, I am warranted by the judgment of the admiralty-board, who were best acquainted with Mr. Graydon's instructions¹. He proceeded with all imaginable diligence in his voyage, and arrived at the island of Madeira on the tenth of April, 1703; and from thence he sailed to Barbadoes, where he arrived the twelfth of May. The day before came a brigantine from Guadaloupe, with advice, that commodore Walker was there, and that both seamen and soldiers were in danger of being starved for want of provisions. The vice-admiral thereupon applied himself to the agent-victualler, and

² Burchet's naval history, p. 601, 602. Columna rostrata, p. 291, 292. London Gazette, N^o. 3910.

¹ Bishop Burnet blames the admiralty, for inserting a paragraph in the Gazette, to justify the admiral's conduct. It is necessary the reader should see that paragraph, which runs thus: "Plymouth, April 26, The Montague, captain Cleveland, commander, is come in here: the Nonfuch and she went from thence the 13th of March, with vice-admiral Graydon, in the Resolution, captain Day, in the Blackwall, the transports with brigadier Columbine's regiment, store-ships, and merchants, bound to the West Indies, and parted from them on the 26th of the same, in the latitude of 43 degrees. The captain says, that on the 18th of that month, in the latitude of 47 degrees, 30 minutes, they met four French men of war, and that he engaged the sternmost for some time; but upon his first engaging, the vice-admiral made a signal to call him off, being under orders not to lose any time in his passage, by chasing or speaking with any ships whatsoever; the contrary winds having kept him here much longer than was intended, and the service upon which he was bound very much requiring his presence, and the regiment that was with him." The single question that arose on this subject was, whether admiral Graydon obeyed his orders? And this is plainly decided by the foregoing paragraph in the affirmative.

having

having furnished himself with all the beef, pork, bread, and pease that could be got, he sailed on the seventeenth. On the twentieth he ran in with the fort and town of Guadaloupe, and seeing it in ruins, he sailed instantly for Antigua, and from thence to Nevis, where he met with the army and squadron in the greatest distress; and having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the ships of war to Jamaica, where they arrived the fifth of June². The first thing he did there, was to direct a survey of the ships under his command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their hulls, but in their masts, stores and rigging; and at the same time very ill manned. This, together with some differences that arose between the admiral and some of the principal persons in Jamaica, determined him to sail home as soon as possible: and accordingly, having left the *Norwich*, the *Experiment*, and the *Sea-horse*, with the *Harman* and *Earl-galley* fire-ships, together with two sloops, to attend the island; and the *Colchester* and *Sunderland* to convoy home the latter trade, he sailed for Blewfields, and proceeding from thence, he fell in with Newfoundland on the second of August³.

In the evening of that day there arose such a fog as had scarce ever been seen; for it lasted thirty days complete, and the weather was so very dark, that it was difficult to discover one ship from another: this occasioned the dispersion of the fleet, which could not be brought together again till the third of September, when the vice-admiral thought it proper to consult his officers, as to the principal design of his voyage, which was the attacking the French at Placentia, and thereby forcing them to quit Newfoundland. At this council of war, there were present, besides the vice-admiral, rear-admiral Whetstone, and thirteen sea-captains; of the land-officers, the commander in chief, colonel Rivers, six captains, and an engineer. They took into consideration the queen's instructions to Brigadier Columbine, then deceased, and those to Mr. Graydon, and finding all their ships in

² Burchet's naval history, p. 605. London Gazette, N^o. 3942. This was certainly a very signal service done to the nation; since, if the admiral had acted less vigorously in procuring a supply, our troops must necessarily have perished for want.

³ Burchet's naval history, p. 605. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 359.

a very weak condition, that they were thinly manned, and most of them sick, already at short allowance, and the soldiers, through their being forced to drink water in so cold a climate, having their limbs benumbed, so that they were scarce fit for service; five regiments reduced to one thousand thirty-five men; of five hundred they were to receive from New England, there came but seventy, now reduced to twenty-five, and those in a manner disabled; and, from the best accounts, the enemy at Placentia judged to be not only superior in number, and consequently able to make a good resistance, but the avenues to the place extremely difficult, the grounds marshy, and no planks, or other materials, for mounting the guns on the batteries; these difficulties and obstructions being maturely considered, together with the good circumstances the enemy were in, and the assistance they might have from their privateers, and other shipping then at Placentia, the council of war were unanimously of opinion, that to make an attempt on that place with the ships and forces, in such a condition and at such a season of the year, was altogether impracticable; and, instead of any probability of success, might tend to the dishonour of her majesty's arms^b.

This was the end of vice-admiral Graydon's unfortunate expedition; in which, though it is certain, on the one hand, that he did not do the nation any remarkable service, yet it is no less certain, on the other, that in respect to protecting the trade, and the rest of the things in his power, he did all the service he was able. But it was his misfortune, first to feel the effects of other men's mistakes, and next to be made answerable for them. On his return, the house of lords entered into an inquiry into his conduct; and, besides their former warm vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, came to a resolution of addressing her majesty, to remove him from all employments, for impressing servants in the West Indies; desiring her, at the same time, to direct the attorney-general to prosecute him for

^b I transcribe this from a MS. account of admiral Graydon's defence, in which are particular certificates as to the truth of each of these facts, and which, I suppose, satisfied the house of lords as to this part of the charge; which the admiral looked upon as that which would affect him most, since here he had not executed his orders, but avoided attacking the French.

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that offence^c. This had the desired effect: vice-admiral Graydon (as to service) was laid aside, and his memory has been loaded with the foulest imputations; though there is great reason to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjust, and that he suffered for miscarriages which it was not in his power to avoid. In order to have a clearer idea of this, we must consider that he justified himself as to his not fighting the French, under his orders, which were very precise upon that head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he must have been answerable for all the consequences before a court-martial; while, on the other hand, the lords, as the supreme judicature, decided in this case on the reason of the thing; and because, as they thought, the necessity of fighting ought, in his judgment, to have superseded his orders, yet, when he pleaded necessity in excuse of impressing servants, this would not serve his turn; but he was punished in that case as severely for making use of his own judgment, as for the supposed neglect of it in the other.

In all probability the resentment of the house of lords against this gentleman, was sharpened by their inspecting closely into other affairs relating to the navy; in which, it must be confessed, they found things very indifferently managed. As, for instance, complaints had been made to the lord high-admiral, of bad provisions, by which the seamen were poisoned, as well as the nation cheated; yet a survey of the provisions objected to was delayed for three months, which gave an opportunity for making such removes and changes, as rendered the proof of this charge altogether impracticable. The merchants complained that they were ill served with convoys, and that so little care was taken of the Newcastle fleet, as occasioned an excessive rise of coals: the neglect of providing for such seamen as were prisoners in France, was likewise rendered very evident; as was the danger of the island of Jamaica, and the betraying our naval councils to the French. These were all digested into an address; which was presented by the house of lords to the queen; to which her majesty was pleased to answer, that the address con-

^c It appears by the Gazette, N^o. 3960, that the vice-admiral arrived in the Downs, on the 22d of October. See the journal of the house of lords. I do not find that the admiral was ever prosecuted, and I guess from a reflection of Mr. Oldmixon's, that he was not. History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 329.

sifted of so many parts, that she could not then take notice of them^d. In the general, however, she promised she would consider of them, and give such directions as should be proper for the safety and welfare of the nation.

I think it necessary to observe here, that at this time there were very warm disputes in the house of lords^e, as to the conduct of the admiralty in the late reign, which had been censured by the house of commons, and in a great measure justified here; so that at this season all the strength of party was exerted on both sides, and the merit of a man was less considered, than the faction to which he attached himself^f. But it is time to leave so troublesome and unentertaining a subject, in order to return to the conduct of the war, and the great things performed in the year 1704, for the service of which the commons granted upwards of four millions; and of this the sum of^g was for the service of the navy: which shews, how desirous the nation was of supporting the war to the utmost, and of giving whatever was necessary for the service of the common cause, in hopes that it would be honestly and effectually laid out, for those great and salutary purposes for which it was so cheerfully given.

The king of Spain was very desirous of prosecuting his voyage to Lisbon, and therefore came to Portsmouth, and would have embarked on the third of February^h, if the wind had been

^d Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 359, 365. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 319. Boyer's life of queen Anne. ^e Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 365.

^f The queen, by soft answers, endeavoured to pacify both houses, which indeed was the only measure left for her to pursue; since, if she had complied with the demands of either, it must have inflamed both. Her prudence therefore, in this respect, was very conspicuous; though perhaps the rightest step she could have taken, would have been to have dismissed his royal highness's council as lord-high admiral, and either restored the earl of Pembroke or appointed commissioners.

^g The reader will probably be surprized to find a blank in the text: but the reason is, that, after using the utmost industry, I have not been able to discover what the sum was; which I find has been the case of other assiduous inquirers, as well as myself. I cannot, however, fall into their opinion, that there was no provision made for the ordinary of the navy this year; but rather imagine that, by some mistake, the sum appropriated for that service, was omitted in the votes; and therefore I leave this blank, in hopes that some more intelligent reader may be able to fill it up.

^h London Gazette, N^o. 3990.

at all favourable. Sir George Rooke, who was to command the fleet that escorted him, and the land forces intended for his service, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: for when he found the transports were ready, and that it was impossible to have the intended number of great ships so early at sea, he proposed sailing with a small squadron to Lisbon, and waiting there for a reinforcement. This was a very wise, as well as vigorous step; for, according to the informations our court had received of the designs of France, they intended to have a great naval strength in the Mediterranean, which, if it came there earlier than our reinforcement, would have been able to have shut up our small fleet, then in those parts, in the river of Lisbon, and have intercepted all our trade homeward-bound; whereas if, according to Sir George's scheme, the supply arrived early enough at Lisbon, our fleet would be so strong as to prevent the junction of the Breſt with the Toulon squadron, and to perform other requisite services on the coast of Spain^l.

In the first part of his design, Sir George was as fortunate as he could wish; for sailing on the twelfth of February, he, after a fine passage, arrived with the squadron, and all the transports, in the river of Lisbon, on the 25th; and after two days had been spent in adjusting the ceremonial, his Catholic majesty was conducted to shore by the king of Portugal, and most of the royal family^k. Among other debates in relation to this ceremony, there was one which deserves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag. The king of Portugal desired, that,

^l This was certainly a very wise and well judged scheme, and is a clear and direct proof that Sir George Rooke was very desirous of doing as much service as possible, and to lose no opportunity of being early in action; his going on this expedition, with the small squadron under his command, was liable to many exceptions, if considered in a prudential light, and with a view to the credit of the admiral; but Sir George disregarded these, when they came into competition with the public service, and chose rather to risk his own character, than the nation's honour, and the prospect the king of Spain then had of success, of which his Catholic majesty was extremely sensible, and gave upon all occasions the most ample testimonies of his particular respect for Sir George Rooke, and just acknowledgment of his services.

^k Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 354. The complete history of Europe for 1704, p. 108. London Gazette, N^o. 4000. Burchet's naval history, p. 665, 666.

upon his coming on board the admiral's ship in his barge of state, and striking his standard, the English flag might be struck at the same time; and that when his Catholic majesty, with himself, should go off from the ship, his standard might be hoisted, and the admiral's flag continue struck until they were on shore. This proposition was made from the king of Portugal, by the king of Spain; to which the admiral replied, that his majesty, so long as he should be on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased; but that whenever he left the ship, he was himself admiral, and obliged to execute his commission by immediately hoisting his flag. This, and some other reasons, satisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portuguese majesty; so that the flag of England was no longer struck, than the standard of Portugal¹.

Two days after this, the admiral, in compliance with the resolution of a council of war, sent a squadron of seventeen sail, to cruize off Cape Spartell; which squadron was afterwards increased to twenty-two sail. On the ninth of March the admi-

¹ We take this passage from the account published by authority; and I think I may venture to assert, that Sir George Rooke's concern for the honour of the flag became him very well, as an English admiral, whatever might be thought of it at home by some English statesmen. Bishop Burnet, speaking of our treaty with the king of Portugal, mentions a very extraordinary incident relating to this affair, which I find it necessary to transcribe. "In this treaty, an accident happened, that had almost spoiled all: the king of Portugal insisted on demanding the flag, and other respects to be paid by our admiral, when he was in his ports. The earl of Nottingham insisted it was a dishonour to England to strike, even in another king's ports. This was not demanded of the fleet that was sent to bring over queen Katharine; so, though Methuen, our ambassador, had agreed to this article, he pressed the queen not to ratify it."—"The lord Godolphin looked on this as too inconsiderable to be insisted on; the whole affairs of Europe seemed to turn upon this treaty, and so important a matter ought not to be retarded a day, for such punctilios, as a salute, or striking the flag; and it seemed reasonable, that every sovereign prince should claim these acknowledgments, unless where it was otherwise stipulated by express treaties. The laying so much weight on such matters, very much heightened jealousies; and it was said, that the earl of Nottingham, and the Tories seemed to lay hold of every thing that could obstruct the progress of the war; while the round proceeding of the lord Godolphin reconciled many to him."—The friends of the earl of Godolphin need be under no concern about this story, since it is most evident from the foregoing account of Sir George Rooke's conduct, that the fact is false, and that the honour of the English flag was never given-up.

ral himself put to sea, and continued cruizing for a month. Rear-admiral Dilkes, who commanded the squadron before-mentioned, on the twelfth of March in the morning, discovered four sail of ships standing to the N. E. He had with him three third rates, and two fourth, viz. the Kent, Bedford, Suffolk, Antelope, and Panther. By eleven he came up with them, and the Panther, which was the headmoſt of ours, engaged them; the Suffolk getting the wind of them, did the ſame, as alſo the Antelope, and the Dutch privateer; inſomuch, that the ſhip of ſixty guns ſtruck, after exchanging ſeveral broadſides. The rear-admiral could not get his own ſhip in reach of them until noon, and then engaging the commodore, which was a ſhip of ſixty guns, ſhe ſtruck to him in a little time, having loſt half her complement of men, as the third did ſoon after, which was a ſhip of twenty-four guns; and in this action the Panther had her fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board, the Suffolk her main-maſt, and the Antelope's maſts and yards were wounded. The two ſhips before-mentioned of ſixty guns, were galleon men of war, one of them called the Porta-Cœli, and the other the St. Thereſa, and came from St. Sebastian's, with bombs, guns, iron bars, &c. being bound for Cadiz, where (as it was reported) they were to be fitted out for the Weſt Indies, the commodore Don Diego Bicuna having a commiſſion to command all the fleet deſigned thither; and in theſe ſhips were taken near ſeven hundred priſoners^m.

The rear-admiral, by reaſon of bad weather did not arrive at Liſbon till the twenty-fifth of March, and then in going in he loſt the St. Thereſa, but moſt of the men were ſaved. Sir George Rooke being alſo returned, and meeting with orders to ſail up the Streights, prepared to execute them, though at the ſame time, the admiral was extremely preſſed by his Catholic ma-jeſty to undertake ſomewhat in his favour. The difficulties with which Sir George was at this time encompaſſed, were many and great. In the firſt place, the reinforcement he depended on was not arrived; in the next, the queen's orders were poſitive for the relief of Nice and Villa Franca; and he knew how great

^m See the London Gazette, N^o. 4008. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 667. Annals of queen Anne.

a risk he ran, in case either of those places were taken for want of timely succour. The design formed in favour of king Charles III, to invade Catalonia, and make an attempt on Barcelona, was almost ripe for execution, and that monarch insisted very strenuously that the fleet should escort this embarkation. In this thorny conjuncture the admiral resolved to do as much as in him lay to satisfy all parties; and we shall hereafter see with how great judgment he executed this resolution: in the mean time it is necessary that we should explain the conduct of the administration in regard to the expedition of Sir Cloudesley Shovel^a.

After Sir George Rooke failed, the court received intelligence, that the French were very busy in fitting out a great squadron at Brest^o. This alarmed us very much, because it was not easy to foresee how this force would be employed. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, Esq; then rear-admiral of the same squadron^p. The admiral was instructed, if he found the Brest squadron still in port, to send away the trade, store-ships, and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to Lisbon, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the Brest squadron already sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to Sir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudesley executed his instructions punctually, and finding that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean

^a Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. xvi. Annals of queen Anne. London Gazette, N^o. 4017.

^o Lamberti, tom. iii. p. 324. Quincy histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 426. P. Daniel journal historique de Louis XIV. anne 1704.

^p Burchet's naval history, p. 672. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 388. London Gazette, N^o. 4018.

to oppose the French, he sailed thither about the latter end of the month of May ⁹.

We have now seen how and why the succours intended for Sir George Rooke's fleet, were so long delayed, and what care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time; we will next therefore return to that admiral, and give a short account of the manner in which he extricated himself out of the difficulties in which we left him. In the first place he signified to the prince of Hesse, who had the chief direction of his Catholic majesty's affairs, that if the troops which were to make the attempt on Barcelona, could be speedily embarked, he was content to escort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his majesty's affairs in Catalonia. In compliance with this offer, he sailed accordingly with the transports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of May he arrived before the city of Barcelona^r. A priest and some others surrendered themselves, and informed the prince of Hesse, that if some few forces were landed, and a shew made of a bombardment, they would declare for king Charles III. and receive him into the place. Upon this there landed, on the nineteenth of May, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred Dutch foot, a company of Catalans, and as many volunteers as made up in the whole two thousand men. They remained ashore all night; and the prince finding nothing done, notwithstanding the Dutch had bombarded the place with some effect, his highness himself proposed the reembarking the men, from an apprehension of their being attacked by a superior force. The truth is, that he had great reason to abandon this design as he did, since, in the first place, the governor had discovered it, and had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party;

⁹ It was certainly well judged in Sir Cloudefley Shovel, to sail as he did with his fleet into the Mediterranean; for the French, perceiving how much their reputation suffered by the declension of their power at sea, resolved this year to make the utmost effort possible to recover it, grounding their hopes chiefly on our fleets being divided, and the possibility there was of attacking Sir George Rooke, before any reinforcement could join him; which, but for this prudent method of Sir Cloudefley Shovel, might have been effected.

^r Burchet's naval history, p. 675. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. p. 101. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tom. xxxvii. p. 109. *London Gazette*, N^o. 4018, 4035.

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and, in the next, the force he had with him was not at all proportioned to such an undertaking¹.

In this whole transaction one would imagine the admiral must have been blameless, since he had done all that could be expected from him, and did not retire till his highness himself thought it requisite. Yet bishop Burnet has given such an account of it, as I must take the liberty of transcribing, that the public may see how necessary it is for an historian to be free from party. "Sir George Rooke came before Barcelona, " where the prince of Hesse Darmstadt assured him, there were " a strong party ready to declare for king Charles, as it was " certain there was a great disposition in many to it. But Rooke " would not stay above three days before it; so that the mo- " tions within the town, and the discoveries that many made of " their inclinations, had almost proved fatal to them. He an- " swered, his orders were positive; he must make towards " Nice, which it was believed the French intended to be- " siege." At this rate of writing, no man's fame or memory can be safe. Yet, to heighten the malice of this reflection, and to mislead the reader, if possible, still more egregiously, the bishop tells us a long story, previous to this account, of the admiral's reprimanding one of his captains very severely, for departing from his orders², though the intelligence he brought,

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¹ There was certainly a very strong party in Barcelona for king Charles, and if they had had courage enough to have declared on the first arrival of the fleet, and had marched out, and joined the land forces as soon as they had debarked, something might have been done; but they continued consulting and intriguing, till the governor seized their chiefs, and then they themselves advised the prince of Hesse not to remain any longer before the place, on account of its being equally inconvenient for him and them.

² History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 388.

³ In a grand debate in the house of lords, in 1740, this fact happening to be touched upon by a noble peer, who was speaking in that august assembly, the late illustrious John duke of Argyle, rose up and said, "As for what has been mentioned in relation to admiral Rooke, we know, my lords, the history from which it was taken. It is a story of bishop Burnet's, in his history of his own times, and those who have sat in this house with that prelate must know he was a very credulous weak man. I remember him, my lords, in this house, and I likewise remember, that my lord Halifax, my lord Somers, and his other friends in the house, were always in a terror

" when

is supposed to have saved the fleet of England, and of his avoiding the French fleet, and joining Sir Cloudesley Shovel. All of which (to speak in the softest terms) seems to have been without any foundation.

The admiral landed his troops before Barcelona, on the nineteenth of May; it was the twenty-seventh before they had any intelligence of the Breſt Squadron; and then, instead of shunning, they chased them; and on the sixteenth of June, the fleet was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the ships under his command; upon which it was immediately resolved, to proceed up the Mediterranean, in search of the French fleet. The whole of this affair was so perfectly well conducted, that our allies and our enemies join in commending Sir George Rooke; and yet his memory is in danger of suffering with posterity, merely because he was esteemed a Tory. This it was that drew upon him so many and so severe reflections, obscured all the great actions he did, and forced men, who valued themselves on their skill in writing, not only to misrepresent, but to falsify facts, that they might be able to cast such imputations upon him as he never deserved^w.

On the twenty-first of May the admiral steered for the isles of Heires, but in the passage met with a storm, which separated his fleet. On the twenty-seventh they joined again, and had fight of a large French Squadron, which they rightly judged to be sailing for Toulon; and therefore it was resolved, in a council of war, to chase them thither, and if it was not possible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for Lisbon, in

“ when he rose up to speak, lest he should injure their cause by some blunder.

“ With regard to what he says against admiral Rooke, I know I have heard it

“ from those that were present, that the greatest part of it is a downright lie.

“ The bishop, it is well known, was no friend to that admiral, and therefore

“ he easily gave credit, as he generally did in like cases, to every malicious

“ story he heard against him.” The history and proceedings of the house of lords, vol. vii. p. 575.

^w See Burchet, book v. chap. xvi. The complete history of Europe for 1704, and all the foreign journals of that year. In the Dutch edition of bishop Burnet's history, there is a large note to set right, what the editor takes to be the effects of haste or confusion; and in that note he states the facts and dates fairly from our Gazettes, and other public authorities, as I do. Burnet's history, vol. v. p. 770.

order

Order to wait for a re-inforcement; which was accordingly done^x. On the fourteenth of June our fleet passed through the Streight's-mouth, and were joined two days after by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with his Squadron, off Lagos^y: a council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be proceeded on. Several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on Cadiz, which was soon found to be impracticable for want of a sufficient number of land-forces. At this council of war the admiral also was pleased to declare, that he was limited by his instructions from attempting any thing, without the consent of the kings of Spain and Portugal; which was another discouragement to the service, because those princes could very seldom agree on any measure; so that, except sending some ships to the Terceras, in order to protect the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, there was little done, that I can find, which ought to be considered as the unavoidable consequence of this order.

Sir George Rooke being very sensible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance, called a council of war on the seventeenth of July, in the road of Tetuan, where having declared he thought it requisite they should resolve upon some service or other; after a long debate it was carried to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar, for three reasons: First, because in the

^x This is a fact, in which Burchet, Oldmixon, the complete history of Europe, and all our writers agree, as taking it from the journals deposited with the secretary of the admiralty; and therefore we may easily know what to think of the following passage in Burnet's history, which follows immediately the account he had given of the admiral's leaving Barcelona, to sail for the coast of Italy, in order to prevent the siege of Nice, or to relieve it if it was besieged. "Having advice, (says the bishop), that the French made no advances in that design, he turned his course westward, and came in sight of the French fleet, sailing from Brest to Toulon, the advantages he had was so visible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: what orders he had was not known, for the matter never came under examination; they got to Toulon, and he steered another way. The whole French fleet was then together in that harbour; for though the Toulon Squadron had been out before, it was then in port."

^y Burchet's naval history, p. 676. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 108. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4035.

condition the place then was, there was some probability of taking it; which, in case it had been properly provided, and there had been in it a numerous garrison, would have been impossible. Secondly, because the possession of that place was of infinite importance during the present war. Thirdly, because the taking of this place would give a lustre to the queen's arms, and possibly dispose the Spaniards to favour the cause of king Charles.

The fleet, in pursuance of this resolution, arrived in the bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-first of July, and the marines, English and Dutch, to the number of eighteen hundred, were landed under the command of the prince of Hesse, on the Isthmus, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highness having taken post there, summoned the governor; who answered, that he would defend the place to the last². On the twenty-second the admiral at break of day, gave the signal for cannonading the town; which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot was spent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, and that if we were once possessed of these, the town must be taken of course, he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himself master of them.

This order was no sooner issued, than captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who were nearest the mole, pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and actually seized the fortifications before the rest could come up. The Spaniards seeing this, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty more wounded: however, they kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the seamen under his command, who very soon made himself master of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral sent in a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated³, and the prince of Hesse

² Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 339. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 155. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome xxxvii. p. 339. Lond. Gz. N^o. 4044.

³ Burchet's naval history, p. 678. *Annals of queen Anne*, vol. iii. p. 106. *Columna rostrata*, p. 277, 278. *London Gazette*, N^o. 4045.

took possession of the place. I must, upon this occasion, observe, that as this design was contrived by the admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. I must likewise put the reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the seamen to take the place, but the cannonading of it in such a manner, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their posts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared, that they might have been defended by fifty men against as many thousands. The French indeed say, in order to diminish, as much as possible, the glory of this action, that the Spaniards had neither garrison nor guns there; but this is far from being true, since there were above one hundred brass pieces mounted. After putting as many men as could be spared into the place, under the command of the prince of Hesse, the fleet sailed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water^b.

While they lay here, the Dutch admiral sent a flag-officer and six ships to Lisbon, under orders to return home, and a promise that he would quickly follow them. On the ninth of August they sailed again from Gibraltar, and had sight of the French fleet, which they resolved to engage. The latter declined coming to action, and endeavoured to get away; but Sir

^b The marquis de Quincy tells us, that the court of London being informed of the weakness of the garrison of Gibraltar, gave Sir George Rooke orders to attack it; which he did, and was so lucky as to make himself master of it, through the negligence of the Spaniards. Though this is the most accurate book published in relation to the last war, yet, in this point, the author is certainly mistaken. We have Sir George Rooke's instructions in Burchet, his journals and orders are yet in being, and have been consulted in this work; but nothing of this sort has been discovered: and indeed, if any minister had been wise enough to contrive this scheme, he would undoubtedly have done himself justice, by claiming the merit of it. The French historian proceeds to say, that though Gibraltar was taken for king Charles III. yet it was never put into his possession, but has been ever since kept by the English, who, to say the truth, says he, have dearly purchased it, since it has cost them more pounds sterling, than there are stones in the fortifications. *Histoire militaire*, tome iv. p. 422.

George pursued them with all the sail he could make*. On the thirteenth of the same month, which was Sunday, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, and forming a line, lay in a proper posture to receive him. They were fifty-two ships, and twenty-four galleys, very strong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear; to supply which, most of their galleys were placed in those squadrons. In the centre was count Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the white squadron; in the van the white and blue flag, and in the rear the blue, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet consisted of fifty-three ships; but the admiral ordered the *Swallow* and *Panther*, two fourth rates, with a fifth and a sixth, and two fire-ships, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van should push through our line with their galleys and fire-ships, they might give them some diversion†.

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half gun-shot of the enemy, the French set all their sails at once, as if they intended to stretch a-head and weather us; so that our admiral, after firing a chase-gun at the French admiral to stay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the signal, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the *Royal Catherine*, the *St. George*, and the *Shrewsbury*. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away by the help of their galleys, to the leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they

* This plainly proves, that no man was more inclined to fight, than Sir George Rooke, when fighting was a prudent measure, and in the night of the eleventh, he had the good luck to force one of the enemy's ships ashore, to which they were forced to set fire, in order to prevent its falling into our hands.

† See Sir George Rooke's account of this battle, published by authority. This disposition plainly proved the admiral's great capacity, and how dextrously he could supply, by good management, any accidental deficiencies he might labour under.

fled and stood to the northwards. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French avoided it, and at last bore away^c.

This plainly discovers that we had the victory, notwithstanding the great advantages of the French: which I think those who understand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For first, their ships were bigger; they had seventeen three-deck ships, and we had but seven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal; for they had six hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ships, just come out of port; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service. Fourthly, they had the assistance of their galleys; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight, the French admiral ordered a seventy-gun ship to board the Monk, a sixty-gun ship of ours, commanded by captain Mighells; which she did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulse she had her wounded men taken off, and her complement restored by the galleys. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was so much wanted in ours, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not either powder or ball sufficient for a single broadside. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and enabled them to give the French so clear a proof of their superiority over them in all respects at sea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at present, but avoided us ever after, and durst not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore justly said, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the sea, and left to us and the Dutch an undisputed claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS^f.

It

^c Burchet's naval history, p. 677, 678. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 339. Columna rostrata, p. 278. See Sir George Rooke's account of this battle, as also Sir Cloudesley Shovel's letter, describing the same, in the complete history of Europe, for 1704, p. 456—459.

^f I cannot conceive why bishop Burnet, and other writers, should say so much to the prejudice of their country, purely to lessen the reputation of the admiral,

It is true, that the French, according to their old custom, claimed the victory. Lewis XIV. wrote a letter, affirming this to the arch-bishop of Paris, directing *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion, and afterwards published an account, which I shall give the reader as near as may be from the gazette, and I shall then demonstrate, that the whole was no more than an artifice of state, in order to lessen the ill consequences that
wer

admiral, but I can least of all account for the falsehoods that prelate has thrust into his relation. He says, that most of the ships had twenty-five rounds of powder when they began to fight, and that it seldom happened that so much had been spent in an engagement at sea. The Dutch admiral Callenberg, in his letter to the states, says, that ten rounds would not serve above an hour, and that many of the English ships had no more when the engagement was over; so that if the bishop intended to insinuate, that the want of powder was only an excuse, he is effectually refuted by this authority; and we see at the same time, how able he was to make calculations. He commends Shovel's bravery justly, but then adds, that Rooke fought at a greater distance. Now I think I have some authority to prove, that he is in the wrong in both; by which I mean, that though Sir Cloudesley Shovel was a very brave man, yet here he had no great opportunity of shewing it, whereas Sir George Rooke had and did. For, observe reader, what Sir Cloudesley says in his letter, printed in the complete history of Europe, for the year 1704. His words are these: "The ships that suffered most in my division, were the *Lenox*, *Warspight*, *Tilbury*, and *Swiftsure*; the rest escaped pretty well, and I the best of all, "I never took greater pains in all my life to have been soundly beaten, for "I set all my sails, and rowed with three boats a-head, to get along-side with "the admiral of the white and blue. But he, out-failing me, shunned fighting, and lay along-side of the little ships. Notwithstanding, the engagement "was very sharp, and I think the like between two fleets never has been in "any time. There is hardly a ship that must not shift one mast, and some "must shift all; a great many have suffered much, but none more than Sir "George Rooke, and captain Jennings, in the *St. George*."

I think it necessary to give the reader a transcript of this letter, from the French king to cardinal Noailles, because two great politicians have differed much about it. Bishop Burnet says, that from the coldness of this letter, it was concluded in England, that the French were beat; so that, in his judgment, this letter was the best evidence of our victory. Mr. Oldmixon thinks just the contrary; the reader, by perusing the letter, will be able to judge for himself:

"Cousin,

"The fleet which I have assembled in the Mediterranean, under the command of my son the count de Thoulouse, admiral of France, has not only "disappointed the designs which the joint fleets of England and Holland had "upon the coasts of Catalonia, but has also put a glorious end to the campaign,

"paign,

were apprehended from the defeat ; and therefore, it is no less injurious to the glory of this nation, than to the honour of Sir George Rooke's memory, to make use of the distorted tales in this relation, to prejudice the indubitable facts contained in ours. The substance of this French account was :

“ That, before the fight, the admiral ordered all the ships
 “ to make ready ; but the sea being calm, he gave directions
 “ for the galleys to prepare to tow the men of war off to sea.
 “ But at day-break the whole fleet weighed by favour of a
 “ breeze that blew gently from the land, and made towards
 “ the enemy, whom the currents had carried out to sea. The
 “ 24th their fleet, in a line of battle, came up with the ene-
 “ my ; the marquis de Vilette, lieutenant-general, commanded
 “ the van-guard, having behind him in a second line the duke
 “ of Turfis, with his own squadron of seven galleys, and five
 “ of Spain. The count de Thoulouse commanded the centre,
 “ having behind him the marquis de Royes, with four galleys,
 “ and the marquis de Langeron had the command of the
 “ rear-guard with eight French galleys, under command
 “ of the count de Tourville. The enemy's van-guard was
 “ commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel ; the centre by Sir
 “ George Rooke ; and the rear-guard were the Dutch ships,
 “ commanded by vice-admiral Callemberg. They had sixty
 “ ships of the line, many frigates almost as large, and bomb-
 “ vessels that did them good service. Sir Cloudesley Shovel
 “ advanced before the wind, separating himself from the cen-
 “ tre ; but observing that the marquis de Vilette endeavoured
 “ to surround him, he kept to the wind, and Sir George Rooke
 “ seeing the danger he was in, bore upon the king's fleet.

“ paign, by a general engagement, which issued wholly to my advantage,
 “ though the enemies were considerably more in number, and had a favourable
 “ wind. Their first efforts were sustained, and repulsed with so much valour
 “ by all the officers and equipage of my ships, animated by the example of
 “ their general, that the enemies could think of nothing during the fight,
 “ which lasted ten hours, but how to defend themselves, how to avoid being
 “ boarded several times by my ships, and to secure themselves by a retreat ;
 “ and though the count de Thoulouse did all he could the two following days
 “ to come up with them, he could not bring them to a second engagement.
 “ This happy success obliges me to return thanks to God, by public prayers.”

“ The

“ The fight began about ten o’clock, north and south off Ma-
 “ laga, ten or eleven leagues from shore, and lasted till night.
 “ The fire was extraordinary on both sides, and notwithstanding
 “ the enemy had the advantage of the wind, which blew
 “ the smoke upon the French fleet, they always kept as near
 “ the wind as they could, while the count de Thoulouse made
 “ all possible efforts to approach them. The marquis de Vi-
 “ lette had so roughly used the van of the enemy, having ob-
 “ liged five of their ships to quit their line, that he would have
 “ intirely put the same into disorder, had not a bomb fallen
 “ upon his stern, and set it on fire; which obliged him to quit
 “ the line, and extinguish the fire. Another bomb fell on the
 “ ship of the Sieurs de Belleisle, who quitted the line to refit,
 “ as did likewise the Sieur de Grancy, Osmont, Rouvroy, Pon-
 “ tac, and Roche Allard. The latter fought the ship of Sir
 “ Cloudefley Shovel, of 90 guns, though he had but sixty.
 “ The Sieur Chammeffin boarded three times a ship of the
 “ enemy, but quitted the same, seeing she was on fire in seve-
 “ ral places, but because of the smoke, could not see whether
 “ sunk. The bailiff of Lorraine was killed with a cannon-shot,
 “ and the Sieur de Relingue had a leg shot off. They were
 “ the count de Thoulouse’s two seconds, and distinguished
 “ themselves very much, following the example of their gene-
 “ ral. The enemy continuing to sheer off, the fight with the
 “ van ended about five, with the centre about seven, and with
 “ the rear towards night. The French fleet pursued with all
 “ their lights out; whereas the enemy, their flag-ships except-
 “ ed, had none. The 25th the wind blowing again from the
 “ west, the enemy sailed towards the coast of Barbary, so that
 “ they lost sight of them at night. The 26th, in the morning,
 “ they were seen again about four leagues distance, the wind
 “ having again shifted to the east, which gave them a fair op-
 “ portunity to renew the fight, but they did not think fit to
 “ approach. They were not heard of afterwards; whereupon
 “ it was judged they had repassed the Streights, and this ob-
 “ liged the count de Thoulouse to return the 27th to Malaga,
 “ with the gallies. We had about 1500 men killed or wound-
 “ ed. But we do not know the loss of the enemy, which must
 “ be

"be very great; and several persons said, that two of their ships
"sunk &c."

I shall mention but one objection to this account, because I think I need not mention any more, and it is this, that whenever the French endeavour to account for their not pushing the affair farther, they insist on the mischief done them by the English bombs; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that there was not a single bomb-veffel in the English fleet. As to the force on both sides, and the loss of each, I shall give a particular account at the bottom of the page^b; and having done

^a See the complete history of Europe, for 1704, p. 787. Histoire militaire tom. iv. p. 426. Lamberti, tome iii. p. 324. Memoires historiques et chronologiques, P. Daniel, Journal Historique de Louis XIV. p. 208, 209.

^b The English fleet, at the time of this battle, consisted of *ave* divisions, besides the Dutch, of which there were but eleven ships. The strength of the fleet will particularly appear from the following list, transmitted from the admiral to the queen.

Ships names.				Ships names.							
	Men.	Guns.	Men slain.		Men.	Guns.	Men slain.				
Admiral's division.	Royal Catherine,	730	90	27	94	Ranelagh,	335	83	24	45	
	St. George,	680	96	45	93	Somerſet,	500	80	31	62	
	Namure,	680	96	28	44	Firme,	440	70	25	48	
	Shrewsbury,	500	80	31	73	Triton,	230	50	5	21	
	Naffau,	440	70	15	26	Dorſetſhire,	500	82	12	20	
	Grafton,	440	70	31	66	Torbay,	500	80	21	56	
	Monmouth,	410	70	27	62	Esſex,	440	70	13	36	
	Monrague,	365	60	15	34	Kingſton,	365	60	14	46	
Panther,	280	50	10	16	Centurion,	280	56	10	38		
4755 682 219 508				3790 632 155 362							
Sir Cloudes. Shovel's.	Barbeur,	710	96	6	24	Rear-adm. Dilkes's.	Kent,	400	70	15	26
	Eagle,	440	70	7	57		Royal Oak,	500	76	20	32
	Orford,	440	70	6	9		Swallow,	280	50	1	3
	Affurante,	440	66	6	14		Cambridge,	500	80	12	27
	Warpight,	440	70	17	44		Bedford,	440	70	12	51
	Swiftſure,	440	70	23	33		Monk,	365	60	36	52
	Nottingham,	365	60	7	19		Suffolk,	440	70	13	38
	Tilbury,	280	40	20	25		Barford,	440	70	11	19
Lenox,	440	70	23	78	3765 540 119 249						
3995 612 105 303				Total, 19,385 2935 687 1632							
Sir J. Leake's.	Prince George,	700	90	15	57	Total killed and wounded,		Slain,		687	
	Byrne,	500	80	14	52			Wounded,		1632	
	Newarke,	500	80	15	32	English,		1319			
	Norfolk,	500	80	15	20			Dutch,		400	
	Yarmouth,	440	70	7	26	Total,		2719			
Berwick,	440	70	23	24	Commiſſion						
3080 470 89 211											

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K

done this, I believe I need add nothing to shew the folly of the French academy's causing a medal to be struck upon this occasion, as if, instead of being defeated, the French had gained a victory worthy the notice of posterityⁱ.

After the English had in vain endeavoured to renew the fight, they repaired to Gibraltar, where they continued eight days in order to refit; and having supplied that place to the utmost of their power with ammunition and provision, it was thought convenient to return to England, care being first taken to provide such a squadron for the Mediterranean service as might secure our trade, and render any designs of the enemy abortive. On the twenty-fourth of August the admiral sailed from Gibraltar; on the twenty-sixth he gave orders to Sir John Leake, to take upon him the command of the squadron that was to remain in the Mediterranean during the winter, and then sailed home with the rest, where he arrived safely on the twenty-

Commission officers slain; captains, Sir Andrew Leake, and captain Cow: lieutenants four, and warrant officers two. Commission officers wounded; captains, Mynge, Baker, Jumper, Milghells, Kirkson; lieutenants thirteen; warrant-officers, thirteen.

As to the French fleet, it consisted of three squadrons; the first, sixteen ships of the line, carrying in all, 1220 guns, and 7700 men; the white squadron in the centre, consisting of 17 ships, carrying 1275 guns, 8500 men; the blue division in the rear, consisting of 17 ships, which carried 1152 guns, 7625 men. In all, 3533 guns, 24,155 men. Besides this, they had nine frigates, as many fire ships, 12 French and 11 Spanish galleys, with two flutes; in all, 92 sail. On their side was slain, a rear-admiral, five captains, six lieutenants, and five sea ensigns. The count de Thoulouse himself wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh; the count de Relignes had his leg shot off. The marquis de Herbault, intendant of the fleet; Monsieur Ducaille, commodore of a squadron; M. de Chateau Regnault; the count de Phelipeaux; the count de Comminges; M. de Valincourt; the count de Thoulouse's secretary; seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers were wounded; as to the loss of private men, it amounted, in the whole, to 3048.

ⁱ In this extraordinary medal, Spain is represented sitting, and her arm leaning on a pillar, with victory over her head; the legend thus: *ORÆ HISPANICÆ SECURITAS*, i. e. The security of the Spanish coasts. To shew how this was attained, we read in the exergue, *ANGLORUM ET BATAVORUM CLASSE FUGATA AD MALAGAM, XXIV AUGUSTI, M,DCCIV*. i. e. The English and Dutch fleet beat at Malaga, 24th of August, 1704. Gerard Vanboon, *histoire metallique des pays bays*, tome iv. p. 457.

fourth of September^k, and was received with all exterior marks of esteem by the ministry, at the same time that the populace shewed for him an unfeigned affection^l.

But though Sir George Rooke had been happy enough to beat the French under great disadvantages, yet he was not able to baffle that spirit of envy by which he had been so long persecuted. There was a party that not only questioned his conduct and the late victory, but were willing to sacrifice the glory of their country, and, as far as in them lay, to propagate the idle stories invented by the French, as undoubted truths, purely to gratify their own spleen; and this too in direct contradiction to the voice of the nation, as appeared by the many addresses presented to the queen, in which the courage, conduct, and fortune of Sir George Rooke are highly extolled. To put this matter, however, out of doubt, and to shew the true sense of the queen and the ministry on this subject, it was thought proper that his royal highness prince George, should introduce such officers of the fleet, as had deserved best, to her majesty: and accordingly on the ninth of October he presented, first, Sir Cloudefley Shovel, who had the honour to kiss her majesty's hand; then captain John Jennings, commander of the *St. George*, upon whom her majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood^m, and on the 22d or 24th of the same month, George Byng, Esq; and Thomas Dilkes, Esq; the former rear-admiral of the red, and the latter of the white squadron, were likewise knightedⁿ.

^k Burchet's naval history, p. 380. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. p. 112. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4058.

^l Sir John Leake had under his command, two ships of the 3d, nine of the 4th, four of the 5th, one of the 6th rate, and a fire-ship. His orders were to repair to Lisbon, from whence he was to send home the trade, under a convoy of four men of war. He was likewise to take under his command such ships of the states-general, as remained in those seas; and it was particularly recommended to him to take care of Gibraltar. Sir George Rooke carried home five 2d, twenty-five 3d, and four 4th rates, with six fire-ships, two hospital-ships, and a yacht.

^m Complete history of Europe, Oldmixon, London. Gaz. N^o. 4061. which Gazette is filled with addresses on the successes of the duke of Marlborough, and Sir George Rooke. ⁿ Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4064, 4065.

When the parliament came to sit, which was on the twenty-third of October, new disputes arose, and great pains were taken to prevent Sir George Rooke's conduct from meeting with public approbation: this, however, was without success; for the house of commons, in their address, made use of these words: "We beg leave to congratulate your majesty upon the great and glorious successes with which it has pleased God to bless your majesty in the entire defeat of the united forces of France and Bavaria, by the arms of your majesty and your allies, under the command, and by the courage and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, and in the victory obtained by your majesty's fleet, under the command, and by the courage and conduct of Sir George Rooke^o." As it was known that these expressions gave offence to many of the warmest friends of the ministry, who thought there was no comparison between the victories gained at Blenheim and Malaga, the house thought fit to express its sentiments more clearly; and having, on the second of November, taken into their serious consideration the services both of the fleet and the army, they unanimously voted, "That her majesty be desired to bestow her bounty upon the seamen and land forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions both by sea and land." To which her majesty very graciously answered, "That she would give her directions accordingly^p." One would have imagined, that acts of so solemn a nature must have silenced such as pretended to doubt the services performed by the admiral and the fleet; and yet it hath since appeared, that some of our historians^q, and many of our memoir-writers^r, have attempted to persuade us, that, notwithstanding these decisions of the queen and parliament, the fleet did little or nothing, and that the fight at Malaga was a drawn battle; in which, however, they differ from the Dutch, who confess that it was the best fought action recorded in history; and that the skill of Sir George Rooke convinced the French, that it was in vain any longer to contest with the maritime powers the empire of the sea.

^o Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 393.

^p Annals of queen Anne,

vol. iii. p. 153.

^q Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 391.

Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 340, and such writers.

^r Conduct of Sarah Duche's

Boatage of Marlborough, p. 146.

Before we conclude the naval transactions of this year, it is necessary that we should again pass into the Mediterranean, in order to take a view of the services performed there by Sir John Leake. The Spaniards, who were the best judges, found our possession of Gibraltar so great a thorn in their sides, that as they very lately prevailed on the French to hazard an engagement at sea, to facilitate their retaking of it, so they afterwards demanded and obtained a squadron of French ships, under the command of Mons. de Pointis, to assist them in carrying on the siege. The prince of Hesse having sent early advice of this to Lisbon, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of October, proceeded with his squadron to the relief of the place, and actually landed several gunners, carpenters, and engineers, with a body of four hundred marines; but receiving intelligence, that the French were approaching with a force much superior to his, he found it necessary to return again to Lisbon.

He did this with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to supply and assist the garrison in a second expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his absence. This enabled him to put to sea again on the twenty-fifth of October, and on the twenty-ninth he entered the bay of Gibraltar at a very critical juncture; for that very night the enemy intended to storm the town on all sides, and had procured two hundred boats from Cadiz, in order to have landed three thousand men near the new mould. But Sir John Leake entered so suddenly, that he surprised in the bay two frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 guns, a brigantine of 14, a fire-ship of 16, a store-ship full of bombs and granadoes, two English prizes; and a Tartane and another frigate of thirty guns, which had just got out of the bay, was taken by an English ship that followed her^{*},

^{*} Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. 17. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 391. Oldmixon, vol. ii. London Gazette, N^o. 4066, 4075. Not only our own writers, but even the marquis de Quincy acknowledges the truth of this fact: he likewise tells us of an attempt made by 500 men, who crawled up the mountains, and appeared on the back of the town; which they had certainly taken, if they had been properly supported; but he says nothing of the English forcing them over the precipice, and leaving their mangled carcasses a melancholy mark of their own rashness, and their countrymen's cowardice.

The enemy, notwithstanding these discouragements, continued the siege, in expectation of a strong naval succour from France, and therefore Sir John Leake resolved to land as many men as he could spare, to reinforce the garrison; which he performed on the second, third, and fourth of November, and continued still on the coast in order to alarm and distress the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth, he ordered his smallest frigates to go as near the shore as possible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a descent; but this was done so slowly, and the troops feigned such a reluctance to land, as gave the Spanish general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his design in execution, and to salute them in such a manner with his great and small arms, as made them scamper back to their camp with great precipitation. The *Centurion* arrived on the twenty-second of November, and brought in with her a French prize from Martinico, very richly laden; and at the same time gave the admiral intelligence, that he had sailed as far as was convenient into the bay of Cadiz, and had discovered a very strong squadron there, which he apprehended would soon be in a condition to sail. Upon this and some other intimations, Sir John Leake resolved to put to sea, and to stand with his fleet to the eastward of Gibraltar, that he might be the better able to take such measures as should be found necessary, as well for the preservation of the place, as for securing the succours that were expected from Lisbon^c.

On the seventh of December arrived the *Antelope*, with nine transports under her convoy; and two days afterwards the *Newcastle* with seven more, having on board near two thousand land troops. They escaped the French fleet very luckily; for when they were off cape Spartel they had sight of Monsieur Pointis's squadron consisting of twenty-four sail of men of war, under English and Dutch colours. As they expected to meet the confederate fleet under Sir John Leake and rear-admiral Vanderdussen thereabouts, they did their utmost to join them; but by good fortune were becalmed. They put their boats to sea on both sides to tow the ships; but the English observing

^c Borchet's naval history, p. 682. The complete history of Europe for 1704, p. 527—529. Quincy histoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 450. Mercure historique et politique, tom. 37. p. 589, 683. London Gazette, N^o. 4077, 4081.

that

that the men of war stretched themselves, and endeavoured to make a half-moon to surround them, they made a private signal, which Sir John Leake would have understood. This spoiled the measures of the French, who were thereby discovered, and put up their colours, and endeavoured to fall upon the transports; but they escaped by means of their oars; and the night coming on, they got away by favour of a small breeze from the south-west. By the arrival of these succours, the garrison was increased to upwards of three thousand men; and having already obtained many advantages over the enemy, it was no longer thought requisite to keep the fleet, which by long service was now but in an indifferent condition, either in the bay, or on the coast; especially when it was considered that Mons. Pointis was so near with a force equal, if not superior to that of Sir John Leake. The prince of Hesse having acknowledged this to be reasonable, the admiral called a council of war on the twenty-first of December, and having laid before them the true state of the case, it was unanimously resolved to sail with all convenient speed to Lisbon in order to resit, and to provide further supplies for the garrison, in case, as the Spaniards gave out, they should receive such reinforcements from king Louis and king Philip, as would enable them to renew the siege both by land and sea. This resolution was as speedily executed as wisely taken, and the fleet arrived at Lisbon in the latter end of 1704, where we shall leave them in order to return to what was doing at home, and the preparations made for carrying on the war by sea with greater vigour in the next year than they had been at any time since the beginning of this dispute.

It was a common complaint at this juncture, that we did not prosecute the war at sea with so much vigour as might be expected from a nation so powerful on that element: that the enemy's taking our ships was a reproach on the nation, which ought to fall under the notice of parliament. In answer to this, I mean in the house of commons, it was said, that though the facts could not be denied, yet on the other hand it must be allowed, that the board of admiralty could not do more than the

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 681. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. London Gazette, N^o. 4031, 4087, 4093.

supplies granted by parliament would enable them ; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to be done for them. This was chiefly said by the admirals and their friends, who were very numerous. The house having considered the whole affair with great attention, came at length, on the seventh of November, 1704, to the following resolutions, *viz.* That forty thousand seamen should be allowed for the year 1705, including eight thousand marines. On the ninth they resolved that one hundred thousand pounds should be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the same year ; and that forty thousand pounds should be given to the office of ordnance for the sea service, over and above the usual provision ; and that ten thousand pounds should be given for making a wharf and store-house at Portsmouth. These were great and glorious provisions, such as shewed that the people were desirous not to spare their treasure, where the credit of the crown and their own interest were at stake^w.

Yet in the latter end of this, and in the beginning of the succeeding year, certain inquiries were made in the house of lords, which did as great honour to that assembly, as they gave pain to some in the administration. A great clamour had been raised against the prince's council, for not giving sufficient attention to merchants, and for having very little regard to the resentment shewn by that house against certain persons, and certain proceedings. Lord Haverham's, and some other lords warm speeches, raised a great heat ; but before any address was made to the queen, two committees of inquiry were appointed ; one to inspect the books at the admiralty-office, in order to see exactly what conduct the board had pursued, and the other to consider what was done at sea. This was certainly a very clear and methodical way of acting, and contributed to the laying

^w It must be observed, that the supplies were carried in the house of commons before the least notice was given by the ministry, that Sir George Rooke had lost their favour. In this, there was a great deal of policy, because the majority of that house of commons were Tories ; and if they had been at all aware of Sir George Rooke's being forced to resign, or, as Mr. Oldmixon phrases it, being laid aside, they might have been less inclined to receive from the ministry implicitly the terms of the supply.

open all the wrong steps that had been winked at, either on account of private friendships, or through the prejudices of party.

In the first place, the house observed, that twenty-two ships had been employed to cruize the whole summer, and they shewed, from their accounts returned to the admiralty-office, that they had performed their duty so negligently, as not to have done more than from three ships, commanded by active captains, might have been justly expected. They likewise complained, that there were ten flags in pay, three of which were not at sea; that Mr. Churchill had not been at sea in any one year this war; that Mr. Graydon had been ashore all the last year, and that he had been employed, notwithstanding a former address for his discharge; that Sir James Wishart, though a rear-admiral, had the last year been Sir George Rooke's captain; that Sir John Munden, though he had not done his duty, had a pension of three hundred and nineteen pounds a-year, &c. Though the queen could not be very well pleased with an address which reflected on the supineness of her royal consort, yet she concealed her dislike; and answered, Feb. 5, "Your address contains many observations, which I will consider particularly, and give such directions upon them, as may be most for the advantage of the public service *."

Thus, between the two houses, the business of the nation, with respect to naval affairs, was very fully done. The lords took care to correct, or at least to point out, what was amiss in

* This address of the lords was presented to the queen on the 5th of February, 1704-5. It is, without question, one of the most valuable state papers extant, as it is a noble instance of the true spirit of an English parliament. It shews, how inquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable it is to the nature of our constitution to lay before the crown, and exhibit to the people true representations of the state of public affairs, that men may see how the money goes, which is said to be raised for their service, and not look upon the public as a bad steward, that receives and pays without account. This, I will be bold to say, was the reason that this war was carried on so much cheaper than our naval armaments have been ever since: for, when inquiries are frequent, frauds seldom happen; but when these are either discouraged, made only for form, or so turned as to serve the little purposes of parties, who, under colour of discovering the faults of a ministry, mean no more than to become ministers themselves; things must go from bad to worse, and a spirit of plundering insinuate itself through all public offices.

past transactions; and the commons made ample provision for the thorough supply of whatever was necessary in times to come. Yet in doing all this, some sharp expressions escaped, especially in the house of peers, which certainly flowed rather from a zeal to party, than any love to justice; which gave such disgust to Sir George Rooke, that, after all the honours had been paid him, he declined any further command, as desiring that the queen might be easy, and the nation well served, rather than that any opportunities might be given him of adding either to his reputation or estate. This is the true state of the case, as far as I have been able to learn; nor can I believe, what some warm people have ventured to assert, that the lord treasurer, Godolphin, procured Sir George to be laid aside, in order to gratify the duke of Marlborough; a suggestion better becoming the narrow spirit of a party-writer, than the wisdom of that great lord, or the known calmness and equanimity of the noble duke.

In

Mr. Hornby, the reputed author of the famous caveat against the Whigs, which is now become extremely scarce, gives the following reflections on the disgrace of this great admiral. "In 1704," says he "Sir George Rooke, with a crew of cabin-boys, took the almost impregnable fortress of Gibraltar; so that, at the same time, British trophies were erected eastward as far as the banks of the Danube, and her flags were seen waving on the towers of the most western part of Europe, where Hercules fixed his *ne plus ultra*. After this, under great disadvantages, both in the number, rates, and condition of his ships, and, above all, in the want of ammunition, he so far convinced the French how unequal a match they were for us on the watry element, that they never after ventured to equip another royal navy; yet, how were his services undervalued by the faction here! Gibraltar, which was able to defy the power of Spain, and to baffle and waste their army in a fruitless siege, and which is like to continue to future ages, an honour to our arms, and a safeguard to our commerce, was a place of no strength or value, and the engagement at sea was celebrated with lampoons, instead of congratulations. Neither his actions in this war, nor in the last, his conduct in saving our Turkey fleet, or his courage in destroying the French ships at La Hogue, could prevail with them to allow him any share of skill or bravery; so that he is to wait for justice from impartial posterity, not only in these qualities, but one much more rare in this age, which he shewed in refusing to ask a privy seal for a sum of money remaining in his hands of what had been remitted to him; as he had not wasted it in monstrous bowls of punch, so he scorned to enrich himself by converting the public treasure to his own use, but justly accounted for it. These monuments, in spite of envy and detraction, will remain to his

In consequence of this measure, however brought about, a sort of thorough change ensued in the admiralty. Sir Cloudefley Shovel was appointed rear-admiral of England, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; Sir John Leake was appointed vice-admiral of the white squadron, as Sir George Byng was of the blue; Sir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetstone, Esq; rear-admiral of the white, and Sir John Jennings, rear-admiral of the blue. I have thrown these debates and promotions into the most regular order I could, for the reader's ease and my own, that I might the sooner return to action, and to the exploits of our sea force, under these new commanders; and though I have not observed the strict rules of chronology, yet, as the promotions were the effect of the inquiries, I hope the reader will be satisfied with my manner of stating it. These formalities thus settled, let us now proceed to the transactions of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake in the Mediterranean, who shewed no less prudence and fortitude in preserving Gibraltar, than Sir George Rooke had done courage and conduct in acquiring it².

The French and Spaniards, as their own writers confess, were obstinate in their resolution of retaking Gibraltar, cost what it would. The eagerness shewn by king Philip on this occasion, had like to have been fatal to him; and the method he took to regain Gibraltar, had well nigh lost him Spain, by disgusting most of the nobility. Hitherto, the marquis Villadarias had commanded before the town, and had done all that a man could do, in a very bad season, with very indifferent troops. King Philip, however, removed him, and sent marshal de Tessé, a Frenchman, with the title of captain-general, to command in his place; and, at the same time, baron de Pointis was ordered to sail with his squadron from Cadiz to block up the place by sea. This being performed, the Spaniards made no doubt of

¹ his honour in the records of time, and his memory will live without the assistance or expence of a lumpish pile of stones, clamped up against the walls of Westminster-abbey, as was bestowed to commemorate the loss of some of her majesty's ships, and the more valuable lives of many of her subjects, for want of common care and discretion."

² London Gazette, N^o. 4086, 4090, 4091. Burnet, vol. ii. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Chandler's debates, vol. iii.

their being quickly masters of the city; and indeed the prince of Hesse found the French general so much better acquainted with the art of war, and so much better supplied with all things necessary, than the Spaniard had been, that he thought it requisite to send an express directly to Lisbon, to desire Sir John Leake to come with all imaginable speed to his assistance^a. Sir Thomas Dilkes was in the mean time arrived from England, with five third rates, and a body of troops; and these being embarked, Sir John sailed from Lisbon on the sixth of March, to prevent the loss of this important fortress^b.

Upon the ninth of the same month, he had sight of cape Spartell, but not having light enough to reach the bay of Gibraltar, he thought proper to lie by, to prevent his being discovered from the Spanish shore, intending to surprize the enemy early in the morning; but, by bad weather, was prevented from making sail so soon as he intended. About half an hour past five, he was within two miles of cape Cabretta, when he discovered only five sail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from Europa point; whereupon, concluding the garrison was safe, he gave chase to the ships, which proved to be the Magnanimous of 74 guns, the Lilly of 86, the Ardent of 66, the Arrogant of 60, and the Marquis of 56.

At first, they made for the Barbary shore; but seeing our fleet gained upon them, they stood for the Spanish coast: at nine o'clock Sir Thomas Dilkes, on board her majesty's ship Revenge, together with the Newcastle, Antelope, Expedition, and a Dutch man of war, got within half gunshot of the Arrogant, and after a very little resistance she struck, the Newcastle's boat getting first on board her. Before one o'clock, the Ardent and the Marquis, with two Dutch men of war, and the Magnanimous, with the Lilly, ran ashore a little to the westward of

^a It was the great misfortune of king Philip, that few of the Spanish officers were able to serve him effectually; and yet none of them could bear the thoughts of serving under Frenchmen. His making marshal de Tessé captain-general, gave excessive offence, insomuch, that many of the principal nobility, and some who had considerable offices about his person, immediately entered into intrigues for driving him out again. Quincy, *histoire militaire*, p. 441. *Mémoires de La Torres, Lambert, &c.*

^b London Gazette, N^o. 4104, 4106.

Marbella. The former, on board which was the baron de Pointis, ran ashore with so much force, that all her masts came by the board as soon as she struck upon the ground, and only her hull, from the traffril to the midships, remained above water, which the enemy set fire to in the night, as they did to the Lilly next morning. After the engagement was over, our squadron got farther from the shore, and on the twelfth looked into Malaga road, where her majesty's ships, the Swallow and Leopard, chased a French merchant-man ashore, of the burthen of about three hundred tons, which the enemy burnt. The rest of the enemy's ships, having been blown from their anchors some days before Sir John's arrival, took shelter in Malaga bay; and soon after hearing the report of our guns, cut their cables and made the best of their way to Toulon^c.

Upon this, marshal de Tefle, finding it now absolutely in vain to continue the siege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the rest of his troops. M. Pointis was well received at the court of France, notwithstanding his misfortune, neither did the marshal de Tefle meet with any check on account of his behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, since he had done all that man could do, there having been thrown into Gibraltar, by the fifteenth of March, new stile, more than eight thousand bombs, and upwards of seventy thousand cannon-shot fired, though to very little purpose^d.

While these great things were doing in the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng was sent with a small squadron of cruizers into the Soundings. He sailed in the latter end of January, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ships. As soon as he had seen these safe into the sea, he disposed of his squadron in such a manner, as he thought most proper for securing our own trade, and for meeting with the French priva-

^c Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon: but all these are taken from the account published in the Gazette, N^o. 4116.

^d The obstinacy of the two courts, in obliging their generals to continue this siege, when they were thoroughly sensible that it was to no purpose, proved the ruin of their affairs in Spain, at least for that campaign; and if it had not been for the accident of the earl of Galway's losing his arm by a cannon-shot, which occasioned the raising the siege of Badajoz, king Philip in all probability had been driven out of Spain. *Memoires de la Torres*, tom. iv. p. 204. *Quincy histoire militaire*, tom. iv. p. 442, 451. *Lamberti*, tom. iii. p. 514.

teers. Amongst other new regulations which had been the consequence of their merchants complaint, one was the sending a flag-officer to have the constant direction of the cruizers; which in this case appeared a very wise provision, since Sir George Byng, by this disposition of his ships, was so fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of forty-four guns, twelve privateers, and seven merchant-ships, most of which were richly laden from the West Indies. The number of men taken on board all these prizes was upwards of two thousand, and of guns three hundred thirty-four. This remarkable success made a great noise at that time; it was published by particular directions from the court, and has been since thought worthy of being inserted in a general history; and yet there is not a word said of the whole affair by Mr. secretary Burchet, who must have known all the particulars of it as well, or better than any man, which renders his omission the more extraordinary. This gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they scarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but chose rather to sail northward, in hopes of meeting with some of our ships homeward-bound from the Baltic^c.

We are now to give an account of the exploits that were performed by the grand fleet, which was commanded by the famous earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, as joint admirals; and the first orders they received, were, to proceed for the Mediterranean, with the force then ready, which amounted to twenty-nine sail of line-of-battle ships, besides frigates,

^c See the Gazette, N^o. 4107, Sir George took at this time the following prizes:

Privateers.	Guns.	Men.	Privateers.	Guns.	Men.
Thetis, a man of war of	44	250	Sanpareil, - -	20	135
Desmris, - - -	36	240	Minerve, - - -	16	92
Philippo, - - -	22	220	Marveilleux, - -	14	85
Confiable, - - -	30	210	Postboy, - - -	10	70
Voler, - - -	28	210	Bonaventure, - -	10	70
Royal, - - -	26	200	Admirable, - - -	12	75
Beringhen, - - -	24	160			

As also seven French merchant-ships, most of them richly laden, from the West Indies.

fire-ships,

fire-ships, bombs, and other small craft^f. On the eleventh of June they arrived in the river of Lisbon, where they found Sir John Leake, with his squadron, in great want of provisions; upon which the admiral ordered them to be supplied out of the stores brought from England, and that for four months whole allowance. On the fifteenth of June a council of war was held, at which were present the joint admirals, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir Thomas Dilkes, and John Norris, Esq; then captain to Sir Cloudesley Shovel; of the Dutch, admiral Allemond, vice-admiral Waffenaer, rear-admiral Vanderdussen, and rear-admiral de Jonge; in which it was determined to put to sea with forty-eight ships of the line, English and Dutch, and dispose them in such a station between cape Spartell and the bay of Cadiz, as might best prevent the junction of the French squadron from Toulon and Brest^g.

On the twenty-second of June, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet, sailed for Lisbon; from thence he sailed to Altea-bay, and there took in his Catholic majesty, who pressed the earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia; where he was assured the people were well affected to him^h. This being agreed to, the fleet sailed accordingly to Barcelona, and arrived on the twelfth of August. After the troops were debarked, there were many disputes, whether the siege should, or should not, be undertaken; but at last the affirmative carried it; and then a proposal was made, that the fleet should land two thousand five hundred men, exclusive of the marines, and that the Dutch should land six hundred of their men; which was agreed to; on condition, however, that on the first certain intelligence of the French fleet's being at sea, both seamen and marines should

^f Burchet's naval hist. book v. chap. 18. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 137. London Gazette, N^o. 4126. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was the seaman picked out by the opposite party, to rival Sir George Rooke, and mighty expectations were raised on account of his being at the head of the grand fleet. There was likewise a good deal of pains taken to equip the ships he was to command in such a manner, as that he might want nothing abroad; but by his activity this year, justify their censures of what was done the last.

^g Burchet's naval history, p. 695.

^h Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 419. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 137. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4136, 4146.

embark again immediately. It was next deliberated in a council of war, whether the admiral's instructions, in regard to the duke of Savoy, should be complied with or not; and it was resolved, that as the winter season was advancing, it was too late for the fleet to proceed to the coast of Italy: and, at the same council of war, it was determined to return to England the first fair wind after the twentieth of September¹.

On the third of September, the prince of Hesse having formed a scheme for attacking Fort Mountjuic, it was put in execution; and though it cost his highness his life, yet, through the extraordinary bravery of the earl of Peterborough, who renewed the attack, it was taken. This giving a happy prospect of the reduction of the place, the gunners and carpenters demanded by my lord Peterborough, were ordered by Sir Cloudesley Shovel to be in constant readiness to land. After this success, the siege was pushed with great vigour; the trenches were opened the ninth, and batteries raised for fifty guns and twenty mortars. His Catholic majesty having at length consented to it, our bomb-vessels threw four hundred and twelve shells into the town; and eight English and Dutch ships, under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne, being appointed to cannonade it from the sea, while the cannon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like on shore, the viceroy desired to capitulate the twenty-third, and the capitulation being signed the twenty-eighth, the gate and bastion of St. Angelo was delivered up the same day, and the whole city in a few days after. The surrender of this capital of Catalonia so strengthened king Charles's party, that the whole principality, Rose's only excepted, submitted soon after^k.

¹ It is very clear from the original papers, which have been printed in relation to this affair, that the admiral, from the time of his coming before Barcelona, to the reducing of that city, did all that was in his power for the service of king Charles; and it likewise appears from the letters of the prince of Hesse to him, that he was the person principally depended upon by his Catholic majesty, and to whom he constantly applied when distressed by his wants, or vexed by the earl of Peterborough's humours. It is no less clear from the same letters, that the earl of Peterborough applied to him in like manner in all his difficulties, and was constantly assisted and relieved; so that one may safely assert, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel was the soul of this expedition, and that without him nothing was, nor indeed could be done.

^k Burchet's naval hist. p. 686, 687. The complete hist. of Europe for 1705, p. 323. Lond. Gaz. No. 4164, 4177, 4178.

All the world knows, that the reduction of *Barcelóna* has been considered as one of the most extraordinary events that fell out in this; or perhaps in any modern war; and though we have already many accounts of it, which seem to attribute it, some to one thing, some to another; yet I will be bold to say, that nothing but the assistance given by our fleet could possibly have reduced it. When there wanted men to carry on the works, these were spared from the fleet; so were carpenters and engineers. While our army was before the place, captain Loads was sent to reduce *Denia*, and captain Cavendish to take *Terragona*, both which they effected. When artillery was wanted; it was landed from the fleet; and when ammunition was wanted for this artillery, all the twenty-four and eighteen pound shot were landed for the supply of the batteries, except as much as would supply thirty rounds; and when the city was taken; and a garrison established there by king Charles the third, the fleet landed eighteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, eight brass cannon; and all the three pound shot they had¹.

On the first of October it was resolved in a council of war, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should proceed for England with the best part of the fleet; that Sir John Leake, with a strong squadron, should be left in the Mediterranean; that six ships should be left to attend the earl of Peterborough, two more remain at Gibraltar, and a third and fourth rate be employed at the request of his Portuguese majesty in cruising for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet^m.

In

¹ Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 361. Burchet, annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 141. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xxxix. p. 366.

^m In order to convince the reader of the truth of what has been asserted, it may not be amiss to lay before him part of a letter written by Sir Cloudesley to his royal highness the lord high-admiral, dated October 12, 1705, containing an account of what passed in the last days of this siege.

"The 14th, our battery of thirty guns was opened, and fourteen of them began to play, with very great execution, upon that part of the wall where the breach was designed; the earl of Peterborough came aboard, and represented to us the great necessity he laboured under for want of money for subsisting the army, and carrying on the siege of Barcelona, and the ser-

In pursuance of these resolutions, Sir Cloudefley, with nineteen ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, passed the Streights on the sixteenth of October, and arrived happily at Spithead on the twenty-sixth of November following, after as glorious a sea-campaign, as either ourselves or our allies could expect^a.

It is but just, in such a history as this, to mention our losses as well as our successes: among these I was in some doubt, whether I ought to reckon the taking a great part of our homeward-bound Baltic fleet, with their convoy, consisting of three men of war, by the Dunkirk squadron, of which we have a large account in the French historians; I say, I was in some doubt about this, as finding no notice taken of it, either by Mr. Burchet or our Gazettes; but as I am satisfied

“vices in Catalonia, and, in very pressing circumstances, desired the assistance of the fleet; upon which our flag-officers came to the inclosed resolution: To lend the earl of Peterborough forty thousand dollars, out of the contingent and short allowance money of the fleet. The 19th, we came to these resolutions, viz. To remain longer before Barcelona than was agreed on at first; to give all the assistance in our power, and to lay a fire-ship ashore with two hundred barrels of powder; and a further demand being made for guns for the batteries, we landed fourteen more, which made up in all 72 guns, whereof 30 were twenty-four pounders that we landed here, with their utensils and ammunition. We continue to bombard the town from the sea, as our small store of shells and the weather will permit. The 20th, a demand was made for more shot, and we called together the English flag officers, and came to a resolution to supply all the batteries with all the twenty-four and twenty-eight pound shot, except a very small quantity, which was accordingly done.

“The 22d, the prince of Lichenstein, and the earl of Peterborough having desired, at the request of his Catholic majesty, that the town of Lerida might, for its security, be furnished with about fifty barrels of powder; and a further supply of shot being demanded for the batteries a-shore, it was considered at a council of war, and we came to the inclosed resolutions, viz. To furnish fifty barrels of powder for Lerida, and to send so many more twenty-four and eighteen pound shot a-shore, as would reduce the English to thirty rounds, as likewise to be farther assistant upon timely notice.

“The 23d, at night, our breach being made, and all things prepared for an attack, the town was again summoned, and they desired to capitulate, and hostages were exchanged; on our side, brigadier Stanhope, and on the enemy's, the marquis de Rivera; and all hostilities ceased.”

^a Burchet's naval hist. p. 687, 688. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 134. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4179.

that

that the Dutch writers would not be partial to our enemies in such a case, I find myself obliged to relate the fact as it is stated by them.

The count de St. Paul, after the death of the famous John du Bart, was looked upon as the best seaman in France, and therefore was promoted to the command of the Dunkirk squadron, in the room of Mons. de Pointis. We had a squadron under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, to watch that port, and another in the Soundings; yet Mr. de St. Paul found means to get out with his squadron, consisting of five men of war and five privateers, and were joined at sea by several other privateers; on the 20th of October, O. S. they fell in with our Baltic fleet, and having directed Mr. du Bart, with one of the men of war and the privateers, to secure as many of the English ships as possible, Mr. de St. Paul, with the other three men of war, attacked the convoy, which made a very gallant defence, but was at last forced to yield, and the count d'Illiers, who commanded after the death of Mr. de St. Paul, (who was shot in the midst of the action with a musquet-ball), carried our three men of war, and twelve merchant-ships, into Dunkirk. I am extremely surprized not to find the least notice of this in any of the memoir-writers; but before I part with the fact, I must remark a very extraordinary saying of Lewis XIV. when the news was brought him at Versailles.

The person who told it, thought the king received him very coldly, and repeated it therefore pretty loud, that there were three English men of war, and twelve merchant-men, carried into Dunkirk. "Very well," returned the king, with a sigh; "I wish they were all safe in any English port, if that would restore me Mr. de St. Paul." This was certainly a very noble and generous speech, and it was by such testimonies of respect as these, that, in the midst of his misfortunes, the French king always maintained a succession of brave officers, ever ready to expose their lives in his service.

At

* This I take from a private letter from Paris, published in the *Mercur* historique, 1705, and it is confirmed likewise by father Daniel, and other historians. Her majesty queen Anne shewed no less regard to merit, on a recommendation from his Catholic majesty. Captain John Norris (whom I take to

At home we had this year a signal instance of naval discipline, which therefore deserves a place in this work. One captain Cross, who commanded the *Elisabeth*, gave her up to the French in the channel, after a very slight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the *Triumph*, on the twenty-fifth of August; Sir George Byng being president, and having twelve captains to assist him. It appeared there, that he shewed the utmost signs of fear, which intimidated the men; and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulsed, and the ship saved. He offered several things in his defence, such as that his surgeon was sick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the sentence pronounced upon him was, that he should be cashiered, rendered incapable to serve her majesty in any capacity, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a prisoner for life.

Our trade escaped, generally speaking, better this year, than it had done formerly; for in the month of November there arrived ten East India ships, that had for some time put into Ireland: a few days after, there came thirty West Indiamen into the Downs, and the very same day nineteen vessels from Barbadoes, which were given over for lost. Yet all this could not quiet the merchants; they still exclaimed grievously against the lord high-admiral's council, and things rose to such a height, that I find in some of the Dutch papers of that time, it was expected the queen would have restored the earl of Pembroke, and that his royal highness should have been created lord high-constable of England; but by degrees this affair blew over, for the prince's council were extremely wise in one particular; they

have been the late worthy Sir John Norris) having distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner in the attack of fort Montjuic, king Charles III. was pleased to write a letter in his favour to the queen, who knighted him, and made him a present of a thousand guineas.

The evidence against this man was very full and clear, and a resolution having been taken to preserve for the future very strict discipline in the navy, it was resolved to make such an example of him as he deserved; and this it was that induced the queen to suffer this sentence to be put in execution without any mitigation, except as to his imprisonment. *Annals of queen Anne*, vol. iv. p.

175.

constantly

constantly printed large vindications of their conduct, and accounted so plausibly for every thing that was charged upon them, that it was a very few only, and those too well versed in maritime affairs, who were able to distinguish where they were right, or where they were wrong; so that they never wanted a strong party for them amongst the people; and even at this day it is very difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to distinguish between the complaints that were excited by a spirit of party, and those that were really grounded on their miscarriages or neglects⁹.

In this year our successes had been so great both by sea and land, and there appeared so fair a prospect of humbling the house of Bourbon in Flanders, and of driving them out of Spain, that when her majesty thought fit to recommend the Spanish war in a particular manner to parliament, the house of commons immediately voted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for the prosecution of those successes; and for the whole service of Spain, during the succeeding year, they gave no less than seven hundred twenty-six thousand seven hundred and forty pounds; afterwards they voted for the supply of the sea-service, for the year 1706, forty thousand men, including the marines; they then voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for the ordinary of the navy; ten thousand pounds to the office of ordnance, for the works at Portsmouth, and eighteen thousand two hundred ninety-eight pounds seventeen shillings one farthing, for ordnance stores and carriages, for the eight new ships built to supply the loss of such as perished in the great storm¹.

⁹ Bishop Burnet, vol. ii. p. 443, gives a very different account of our affairs at sea in this year, from those that I have already cited from him, and therefore it is but just that I should present the reader with this: "Our affairs at sea were more prosperous this year, than they had been formerly. In the beginning of this season, our cruizers took so many of the French privateers, that we had some thousands of their seamen in our hands. We kept such a squadron before Brest, that the French fleet did not think fit to venture out, and their Toulon squadron had suffered so much in the actions of the former years, that they either could not, or would not, venture out: by this means, our navigation was safe, and our trade was prosperous."
"out."

¹ See the votes of the house of commons, for the year 1705. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 197. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 367.

After

After so generous a supply, the ministry had nothing to consider, but how to employ it in such a manner, as that those, upon whom it was raised, might be satisfied that it was laid out for their service; and this produced a resolution of equipping a numerous fleet, as early as it was possible: but it being found by experience, that it was simply impracticable to man the navy, as the laws then stood, both houses, to shew their earnest desire to put maritime affairs into the best condition possible, came to certain resolutions, upon which a bill was brought in, that perfectly answered its purpose for that time, and enabled Sir Cloudefley Shovel to man very fully, and in good time, the large fleet that was intended for the Mediterranean service*.

This, with the settling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this session of parliament. While the house was still sitting, Sir Edward Whitaker had orders to assemble a squadron to convoy the duke of Marlborough to Holland, which he did in the beginning of

* The house came to those resolutions on Thursday the 14th of March, 1705 6. and it is necessary that the reader should be made acquainted with them. In few words, then, they were, 1. That in order to man the navy for this year, the justices of peace, and other civil magistrates, be impowered and directed to make search after seamen that lay concealed. 2. That the said justices and civil magistrates, cause such seamen, when found, to be delivered to such persons as should be appointed to receive them. 3. That a penalty should be laid upon such persons as should presume to conceal seamen. 4. That a reward be given to such persons as should discover, and take up such hidden seamen. 5. That conduct-money be allowed. 6. That seamen being turned over from one ship to another, should receive the wages due on the former ships. 7. That able-bodied land-men be raised for the sea service. To bring these resolutions to effect, they ordered, that the committee to whom the bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen, &c. was committed, should have power to receive a clause or clauses pursuant therunto, and to receive a clause for discharging such seamen, and other insolvent prisoners, as were in prison for debt, and delivering them into her majesty's service on board the fleet. Which being passed into an act, received the royal assent on the nineteenth. The same day the lords addressed her majesty on the same subject, praying her to take it into her royal care, and employ proper persons to consider of effectual means, to restore the discipline of the navy, in order to be laid before the parliament the beginning of the next session. Pursuant to which her majesty, a few days after, caused a long proclamation to be published, for the better putting in execution the act of parliament above mentioned.

the month of April, and having seen the yachts safe into the *Maese*, returned by the middle of the month^t.

Before we mention the proceedings of the grand fleet, it will be necessary to give an account of the exploits performed by Sir John Leake, whom we lately left steering his course for the river of Lisbon. In that passage he had the misfortune to meet with worse weather, and more contrary winds, than was usual in those seas, or in that season. This unforeseen accident reduced the English squadron to some straits for provisions; and the Dutch, who are much heavier sailers, to far greater. However, when they were off cape St. Vincent, they met the *Pembroke*, *Roebuck*, and *Falcon*, which escorted a small fleet of victuallers, that could not have arrived more opportunely, or have been consequently more welcome^u.

On his coming to Lisbon, Sir John Leake had some proposals made him by the Portuguese ministry, which were thought altogether impracticable in the then situation of things, and therefore Sir John waved complying with them. In the beginning of the month of February, came letters from the admiralty, with advice of the mighty preparations that were making in the French ports, and the resolution that had been taken by the Spaniards to send away their galleons directly from Cadiz, under a French convoy, for the West Indies; which Sir John was directed to consider, and, if possible to prevent; of which mighty hopes were conceived in England, when these news were made public; Sir John being held as able, and reputed withal as fortunate an admiral as any in the service, and indeed deserved to be so reputed^w.

^t *Annals of queen Anne*, vol. v. p. 4. *London Gazette*, N^o. 4119.

^u *Burchet's naval hist.* book v. chap. 19. *The complete hist. of Europe* for 1706, p. 6. *Lond. Gaz.* N^o. 4194, 4198.

^w This scheme of sending so great a fleet into the West Indies, was of the least importance to the house of Bourbon; since, without a supply of money, the war could not be carried on in Europe; as, on the other hand, there was little hopes of preserving the West Indies in a due dependence upon Spain, without furnishing them from time to time with proper supplies. If, therefore, we could have taken the galleons at this time, it is most evident, that we must have disappointed both their designs, which, as affairs then stood, would in all probability have obliged king Philip to retire into France, at least for the present, and perhaps have put it for ever out of his power to return to Spain.

Upon

Upon this intelligence, he called a council of war on the firsteenth of February, in which it was resolved, to proceed directly with the ships then ready, which were nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ships, and one bomb-vessel; English; six ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel, Dutch; and with these, in case the galleons were in the harbour of Cadiz, to enter it directly, if wind and weather would permit, and either take or destroy them. On the nineteenth another council of war was held, before which was laid a memorial of the Portuguese ministry, directed to Mr. Methuen, in relation to the homeward-bound Brazil fleet; and strict instructions from the lord high-admiral for succouring his Catholic majesty without delay*. Upon mature deliberation; they remained fixed to their former resolves, with these additions only, that as soon as they had executed their intended design on the galleons, they would make such a detachment as the Portuguese desired; and that whenever they should be joined with the ships and transports from England at Gibraltar, whither they intended to repair, they would instantly steer their course for the coast of Catalonia.

When these resolutions were formed, and the day fixed for the departure of our fleet, Sir John Leake acquainted Mr. Methuen, then our ambassador at the court of Portugal, that it would be necessary to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels; that the enemy might have no intelligence of our design; and, upon Mr. Methuen's application, such an order was granted. But as there is nothing weaker, or at least nothing more subject to disappointment, than human policy, so this point that was thought so necessary to our security, proved, by an accident, if indeed it ought to be so called, altogether unaccountable, the ruin of our design. Sir John Leake sailed with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-fourth of February; but, when he arrived before fort St. Julian, the duke de Cadaval, who commanded there, discharged first several single guns, and then fired the cannon of a whole bastion upon

* Burcher's naval hist. p. 689. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 137. Mercure hist. et p. litique, tome xl. p. 462.

him⁷. This surprized the admiral very much, who sending to know the reason of it, the duke pretended that it was done in pursuance of the order of embargo, as if the court of Portugal could possibly intend to detain the fleet of the allies in their harbour. This dispute hindered Sir John's sailing, somewhat more than twenty-four hours, and in the mean time the Portuguese, who doubted whether the embargo did not extend to the fleet of the allies, suffered five merchant-ships, two of which were Danes, and were supposed to have given notice of the design, to go out of the port the next day after the embargo was laid².

On the twenty-seventh Sir John Leake reached cape St. Vincent, where he met with an easterly wind, which decayed so about noon, that it became perfectly calm. Next morning, however, he lay fair for the galleons, if they had come out before the wind would suffer him to reach Cadiz. But that night he received advice, that the galleons had sailed with a very hard gale at east, on the tenth of March, N. S. the twenty-seventh of February according to ours; so that it is plain that if he had sailed on the twenty-fourth he must have met them. He was likewise informed, that they consisted of thirty-six sail, that is to say twenty-four galleons, and ten or twelve French privateers, from forty to fifty-six guns, which were ordered to see them safe into the sea. Sir John steered after them, though with little hopes of coming up, unless the east wind had left them when they were at the height of cape St. Vincent. Next morning he saw two sail a-head, to which the fleet gave chase³. About six, the Dutch vice-admiral Wassenauer took one of them, and soon after the other was taken by the Northumberland; they

⁷ Burchet's naval hist. p. 690. The complete history of Europe for 1706, p. 62. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome 40. London Gazette, N^o. 4210.

² It was very justly suspected, that there was more of treachery than of mistake, in this odd affair; and, indeed, whoever consults the history of the war in Spain, as written under the direction of lord Galway, will find sufficient reason to believe, that the French had always a strong party in the court of Portugal, who made it their business to thwart vigorous measures, and to give all the checks possible to the schemes formed by the allies, for pushing on the war with vigour, from the side of Portugal; and this was sometimes so barefaced, that Mr. Methuen was constrained to threaten them into better behaviour.

³ Burchet's naval history. *Annals of queen Anne*, vol. v. p. 131, 132. London Gazette, N^o. 4215.

proved to be Spanish ships bound for the Canaries; and as they sailed from Cadiz the day after the galleons, it was thought needless to continue the chase any longer^b.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the conduct of king Charles III. He had been left in the city of Barcelona with a very small garrison, while the earl of Peterborough went to conquer the kingdom of Valentia, which he very happily accomplished, though with a very inconsiderable force^c. The French and Spaniards in the mean time were projecting the destruction of king Charles's affairs at a single blow; and it must be acknowledged, that their scheme was so well laid, that nothing but a few untoward accidents could possibly have disappointed it. This design of theirs was to shut him up in Barcelona, which city they intended to attack both by land and sea, in the beginning of the month of March, when they looked upon it as a thing impossible for our fleet to have succoured him, as indeed it would have proved. The command of the land army was committed to marshal Toffe, but whether he really wanted activity in his own nature, or was so crossed in all his undertakings by the grantees of Spain, that he could do nothing; I say, whichever was the case, so it was, that when the court de Thoulouse was ready to sail with the French fleet from Toulon, the Spanish army was in no condition to form the siege; so that the whole month of March was spun out in preparations, and the place was not invested till the beginning of April^d.

This design was very early discovered here at home, and ad-

^b The masters of these two prizes owned to Sir John Leake, that they had intelligence at Cadiz of his design, and that this induced the galleons to sail as they did. Now, to understand this perfectly, it is necessary to observe, that the order for the embargo was obtained on the 22d. The two Danish ships were permitted to sail on the 23d. Sir John Leake, with his fleet was retarded, as we have related in the text, on the evening of the 24th, and did not sail till late on the 25th.

^c See Dr. Friend's history of the campaign of Valentia, at the end of his account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, p. 197. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 443, 444. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 207, 208, and other historians. See likewise the London Gazette, N^o. 4226.

^d This account I have taken from the French historians, Quincy, *histoire militaire*, tom. v. p. 204. Lambert, tom. iv. p. 146.

vice was sent of it to Sir John Leake before he sailed from Lisbon; but it does not appear, that either the earl of Peterborough, or king Charles, apprehended this mischief, at least in due time, otherwise the king would have been provided with a better garrison, and the place have been certainly put into a condition of making a greater resistance. After missing his design on the galleons, the fleet under the command of Sir John Leake, repaired to Gibraltar, where he received a letter from his Catholic majesty intreating his immediate assistance, in terms which sufficiently discovered the deep distress he was in, and the concern and terror he was under.

The king's fears were far from being ill founded. M. Tessé came before the place with a numerous army, and the count de Thoulouse landed ammunition and provision sufficient for the service of an army of thirty thousand men for two months; so that

* The style and contents of king Charles's letter to Sir John Leake, are so singular, that they certainly deserve the reader's notice.

" I THE KING.

" Admiral Leake,

" I am disposed to take upon me this occasion to advise you of the high risk this principality and my royal person is found in; for I make no doubt before to morrow the enemy will molest us. They have already blockaded me with a squadron, and their army is now almost in sight of this city, and by their quick marches, have obtained some ports, which, if they might have been prevented, would very much have hindered their designs.

" I am resolved, although I find myself with such a small garrison (as a thousand men of regular troops, and four hundred horse) not to leave this place; for, in the present conjuncture, I have considered, that my going hence will be the loss of the city, and consequently of all the other places which the happy success of the last campaign hath reduced to my obedience; for which reason, it is my opinion to risk all, and venture the casualties that a siege is incident to, putting just trust and confidence in your known zeal towards the great forwarding the common cause, making no doubt how much you have contributed towards the succours forwardness. I hope in a few days you will appear before this place, where your known valour and activity may meet with a glorious success, for which I shall again constitute you the credit of my royal gratitude.

" Given at Barcelona, the 31st of March, 1706.

" I the KING.

" By command of the king my master,

" HENRY DE GUNTER."

it is very evident, the French did all that could be expected from them by sea; and if their endeavours had been as well seconded on shore, the place had undoubtedly been lost. But it so fell out, that the *Sieur de Lepara*, their principal engineer, was far enough from being a perfect master of his trade. He made a mistake at the beginning, which lost him eight or ten days time, and before he could correct this, they lost him by a shot from the place. This proved an irreparable misfortune; for though he was but an indifferent engineer, yet after his death it appeared they had not his equal, so that when they came to make an assault on the place, they were repulsed with considerable loss. These circumstances I thought it necessary to relate, previous to our account of *Sir John Leake's* proceedings; and having now shewn the errors, mistakes, and misfortunes of the French and Spaniards before Barcelona, we will return to our fleet, and the measures taken for relieving king Charles by raising the siege^f.

On the third of April, commodore Price, with six English and as many more Dutch men of war, joined *Sir John Leake*, who, in a council of war held on the sixth, resolved, in obedience to king Charles's letter, to sail immediately to Barcelona. In pursuance of this resolution, he arrived on the eighteenth in Altea-bay, and the next day had intelligence, that *Sir George Byng*, with a squadron from England, was coming up; three days after they were joined by commodore Walker, with his squadron, as they had been the day before by *Sir George Byng*; and then it was determined to sail north of Majorca, and that each ship should make the best of her way without staying for the rest^g. Upon the twenty-sixth the earl of Peterborough came off from Terragona, with a squadron of barks, having fourteen hundred land forces on board; and when he came to the fleet, hoisted the union-flag on board the *Prince George*,

^f All the French historians agree, that their design on Barcelona miscarried through their own fault, and, generally speaking, relate the whole affair as I have done in the text. But if any reader of a more curious and critical disposition than ordinary, would see a long and exact detail of this affair, he may be satisfied in the admirable memoirs of *M. de Fenquieres*, tom. iv. p. 151.

^g *Burchet's naval history*, p. 691. *Burnet's history of his own times*, vol. ii. p. 444. *London Gazette*, N^o. 4121.

as admiral and commander in chief^b. His excellency found that the councils of war had rejected his proposals, and indeed their rejecting them saved the place; since before his arrival, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, and admiral Wassenar, had anchored in the road of Barcelona, and by the contrivance of Sir George Byng, a considerable body of troops had been thrown into the townⁱ.

On the twenty-seventh in the afternoon, the whole fleet arrived in the harbour of Barcelona, without meeting with the least opposition; for the count de Thoulouse having received an exact account of the naval force of the allies, thought fit to sail away with the French fleet to Toulon; which obliged the land-army (as we shall hereafter see) to raise the siege with great precipitation. This relief appeared the more surprising, and must have been consequently the more grateful to king Charles, and all his faithful subjects, since it prevented their destruction but by a few hours, the enemy having made all the necessary dispositions for storming the place that very night, when, considering the extreme weakness of the garrison, their success could scarce have been doubted^k.

Two days after the arrival of the fleet, M. de Tefse thought fit to raise the siege in a very extraordinary manner, for which our own, and the French historians, profess themselves equally at a loss to account. His army consisted still of fourteen thousand men, the succours thrown into the place did not exceed six thousand; so that it was very strange he should leave behind him a train of one hundred and six pieces of brass cannon, forty-seven mortars, two thousand bombs, ten thousand grenades, forty thousand cannon-shot, two hundred barrels of musquet-

^b Dr. Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, p. 55. *Annals of queen Anne*, vol. 5. p. 135. *London Gazette*, No. 4132.

ⁱ All these brisk and extraordinary measures, which appeared by the event so indispensibly necessary, were concerted as well as executed, by our admirals only: the earl of Peterborough, though he had been constantly before of a sentiment directly different, when he saw them put in practice, and foresaw (as he easily might) their good effects, very judiciously approved them. *Impartial inquiry into the management of the war in Spain*, p. 201.

^k Burchet's naval history, p. 693. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 447. *Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 370. *Boyer's life of queen Anne*, p. 240. Quincy, *histoire militaire*, tom. 5. Feuquieres, de Larrey, &c.

shot, five thousand barrels of powder, eight thousand swords, eighteen thousand sacks of corn, besides flour, rye, and oats, in proportion, not only undestroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a present to the besieged, by way of compensation for the trouble they had given them.

Yet to me the cause of this is pretty evident¹; the marshal saw himself under the necessity of regaining the kingdom of Castile, by a strange sort of a march, first into Roussillon, then round by the Pyrenees, and so through Navarre, which constrained him to leave his sick and wounded in his camp, with a letter recommending them to the earl of Peterborough's clemency: and, I make no manner of question, that he chose to let things remain as he did, that these helpless people might obtain the more favour; which, though needless, when he had to do with an English general, was nevertheless humane in him². The admiral took to himself and his officers the honour of this great exploit, which was one of the most important, and withal one of the most honourable, that happened throughout the war³. His most Catholic majesty, on the other hand, was no less ready in paying a just tribute of praise and respect to his merit; so that, if ever there was a fact so well established as to

¹ The accounts that I have given of the raising of this siege, are taken from French historians, who are certainly like to be best informed, and, with respect to the stores left behind, most impartial: and this, I suppose, is sufficient to satisfy the most critical reader, as to the difference between my computations and those he may meet with in some other histories.

² See the London Gazette, N^o. 4232, already cited.

³ This appears by Sir John Leake's letter to the prince's secretary, dated at Barcelona, May 1st, 1706, in which, among other things, he says, "The 23th of last month I got to this place, and in a lucky time to rescue it from falling into the enemy's hands, for they expected to have been stormed the next night. Count Thoulouse, with the fleet under his command, which consisted of about 28 of the line, retired the night before; but if it had pleased God, that the wind had continued that brought Sir George Byng to me, I believe I should have been able to have given you a much better account of his strength. This comes by captain George Delavale, who is sent by my Lord Peterborough, with the king of Spain's, and his lordship's own letters to her majesty, in the *Falcon*, which ship his excellency has appointed Mr. Robert Delavale, brother to captain Delavale, to command."

be out of all dispute it is this, that Barcelona was relieved by Sir John Leake^o.

The next great service that was attempted, was the reducing Alicant; and in sailing thither, putting into Altea-bay, the admiral received notice, that Carthagenia was disposed to submit; upon which Sir John Jennings was sent to that city, who returned on the twenty-fourth of June, after leaving a garrison in the place. But with respect to Alicant, the governor refused

^o A more pregnant proof of this cannot be had, than from the following letter of his Catholic majesty, to Sir John Leake, before the relief of Barcelona, indeed, but which evidently shews, that the king placed all his hopes in our naval force, and expected from Sir John Leake alone, that it should be exerted for his preservation. This letter, to say the truth, is so honourable to the British arms, as well as to the very worthy man to whom it is addressed, that I thought fit to transcribe the whole, otherwise the last paragraph might very well have served my purpose.

“ S I R,

“ It is with no small satisfaction, that I have been informed, from the earl of Peterborough's letters, of your happy arrival upon the coast of Valencia. I doubt not, but you have heard of the loss of Montjuic, and of the condition my town of Barcelona is in, where I was willing to suffer myself to be besieged, and to endure all the hardships and accidents of war, to encourage both the garrison and my subjects, by my presence, to make a long and vigorous defence.

“ It seems, by the enemy's motions, they have already received notice of your approach; but instead of thinking to retreat, they have redoubled their efforts, and fire upon the breach, which will be in a condition to be stormed after to-morrow at farthest; and in all appearance, they will make a desperate attempt to render themselves masters of this town, before the fleet can arrive with the succours.

“ Hence you will judge of the indispensable necessity there is, that you should do your utmost endeavours to relieve us without loss of time, and bring the fleet directly hither, together with the troops, to my town of Barcelona, without stopping or disembarking the forces elsewhere, (as some other persons may pretend to direct you) for they can be no where so necessary as in this town, which is at the very point of being lost for want of relief. Wherefore I pray God to have you in his holy protection, and expecting the pleasure of seeing you as soon as possible, I assure you of my perfect esteem and acknowledgment.

“ Barcelona, May 4, N. S. 1706.

“ CHARLES.

“ P. S. Sir, you will discern the condition we are in by our letters, and I hope you will come as soon as possible to save us, of which you alone shall have the glory. For the rest, I refer you to Mr. Stanhope's letter.”

to surrender, and therefore it was resolved to besiege it by land, while it was attacked by the fleet at sea^p. To facilitate this, seamen were landed from the fleet, and Sir George Byng, with five ships, anchored in a line so near the town, that he quickly dismounted all the enemy's artillery, though the guns pointing towards the sea were no fewer than one hundred and sixty.

On the twenty-eighth in the morning, it was resolved to attack the place on all sides; and with this view Sir John Jennings landed the marines he brought from Carthage. About nine in the morning the ships had made a breach in the round tower, at the west end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain, between the mole and the easternmost bastion, when the land-forces marching up towards the walls of the city, fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and serjeant, advancing, without order so to do, to the breach of the round tower, all the boats under the command of Sir John Jennings, went directly to sustain them, but before the men landed, the grenadiers were beaten back. However, the boats proceeded, and all the men getting ashore, captain Evans of the Royal Oak mounted the breach first, got into the town with two or three of the boats crews; captain Passenger of the Royal Anne followed, and next to him captain Watkins of the St. George, with some seamen. Sir John Jennings, with the rest of the seamen and forces, who were in possession of the suburbs, moved on to support them; who coming into the town secured the posts, and made proper dispositions until the rest got in, when Mahoni retiring into the castle, left them in possession, with the loss of but very few men^q; colonel Petit, however, was killed in the suburbs, standing arm and arm with Sir John Jennings, by a small shot out of a window, as they were viewing the ground for raising a battery against the wall of the town; besides whom there were not above thirty killed either of the sea or land forces; and not more than eighty wounded, notwithstanding the Spaniards had a continued communication from one house to another, and fir-

^p Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 450. Burchet's naval history, p. 694. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 304, 305. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4248.

^q Burchet's naval history, p. 695. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 240. Mercure historique et politique, tom. 42. p. 461. London Gazette, N^o. 4257.

ed on our men from the windows and holes made for that purpose.

Next day brigadier Gorge, who commanded the troops before the place, summoned count Mahoni to surrender, which he absolutely refused to do; but the ships continuing to cannonade very briskly, and a great number of bombs being thrown into their works, the garrison, which consisted mostly of Neapolitans, compelled the governor to give up the place, notwithstanding all his declarations to the contrary. Brigadier Gorge took possession of it, and was appointed governor.

It was even then much disputed, whether this place was of any use, and whether the time and men lost before it were not absolutely thrown away. But, be that as it will, the conduct of Sir John Leake, and the courage of his officers and seamen are no way impeached thereby; nor does it at all lessen the glory of this action, which was one of the boldest that ever was performed by men, that it was undertaken to little or no purpose. Thus much is certain, that soon after the taking of Alicant, king Philip's forces were intirely driven out of Arragon, and that whole kingdom reduced to the obedience of his competitor.

"All that I have said, with respect to the service performed by the fleet, is fully confirmed by the author of the inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, who gives us the following account of this transaction, p. 135. "Brigadier Gorge's troops, which were so much wanted in Castile, really contributed very little towards the reduction of Alicant; for as the fleet, without any assistance from the army, had made themselves masters of Carthagena, not long before, by the exemplary courage and conduct of Sir George Byng, and Sir John Jennings; so now the squadron, which Sir John Leake had ordered Sir George Byng to command for that purpose, bombarded and cannonaded the town of Alicant with so much success, that in a few days they made two practicable breaches in the wall, between the east and west gates, which the sailors bravely stormed; and Sir George Byng being in possession of the place, forced open the gates to let the land-forces in, who having lost their engineer Petit, were not yet even masters of the suburbs."

* Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 540. Columna rostrata, p. 283. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 306. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4266.

† The truth of this fully appears in a letter from brigadier Gorge to Sir John Leake, to which he complains of being left in the midst of enemies, in so distressed a condition, that unless Sir John was able to relieve him, he should find himself obliged to abandon it.

After the reduction of Alicant, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of September, sailed to Altea-bay, from whence he sent Sir John Jennings with his Squadron, intended for the West India service, to refit at Lisbon. He next made the necessary disposition for a winter squadron, which was to be commanded by Sir George Byng, and then proceeded to put in execution his last orders, which were to reduce the islands of Ivica and Majorca. These islands not only belong to the crown of Spain, but their situation rendered them very necessary at this time to the allies, as affording them an opportunity of supplying the places they had lately reduced with provisions, and securing a proper retreat for their smaller vessels, whenever it should be found necessary to keep a squadron in those seas during the winter. It does not appear, that the Spanish court had taken any precautions for their defence, as being intirely occupied with the thoughts of preserving Minorca, which was looked upon as the island of greatest importance, and therefore most of their regular troops were there^u.

On the sixth of September, Sir John sailed from Altea-bay, and on the ninth anchored before Ivica. This island, which is about fourscore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, salt, &c. and the inhabitants being a trading people, were rather inclined to submit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and therefore, on the first summons, they sent deputies to make their submission, which was readily accepted, and king Charles III. immediately proclaimed^x. On the thirteenth the fleet sailed for Majorca, and arrived on the fourteenth before Palma. This island, which is one of the finest in the world, abounding with all the necessaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and so large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by the Conde de Alcudia, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the interest of king Philip, and when the admiral summoned him, sent him a Spanish answer, "That he would defend the island as long as there was a man in it."

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 696. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 306. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4267.

^x Columna rectrata, p. 283. The complete history of Europe for 1706, p. 390. Mercure historique et politique, tome xii. p. 555.

But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great mischief, the inhabitants rose and forced the viceroy to surrender. He shewed his wisdom, however, where he could not shew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation.

Sir John Leake left a garrison in Porto-Pin, and two men of war to carry off the Conde, and such other of the inhabitants as were disaffected to king Charles III. and on the twenty-third of the same month he prosecuted his voyage for England. Before his departure he received a letter from his Catholic majesty, who very gratefully acknowledged his services he had done him, and expressed the highest satisfaction as to his conduct on all occasions. On the second of October Sir John passed the Streights, and on the fourth, when he was off the south cape, detached Sir George Byng, with the winter-squadron, for Lisbon. On the seventeenth he arrived safe at St. Helen's, having been separated in a storm from the rest of the fleet, which came soon after into Portsmouth. And thus ended as successful a sea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other history ¹.

Sir Stafford Fairborne, then vice-admiral of the red, was appointed, with a small squadron, to look into the mouth of the river Charent, with orders also to destroy such ships as the enemy might have at Rochfort. He sailed for this purpose in the latter end of the month of April, and after continuing at sea about three weeks, he returned to Plymouth with a few prizes ². Soon after he received orders to sail for the Downs, from whence he was quickly ordered over to Flanders, to assist in taking Ostend. Arriving before that place, he stood in so near the town, that they fired upon him, which he returned; but was soon after ordered to Newport, from whence, after the blockade of that place was formed, he came back to

¹ See the Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4272, in which there is a large account of the capitulation with the viceroy of Majorca, which shews that Sir John Leake was a very able man in the closet, as well as the field, and knew how to treat, as well as how to act in a rougher manner.

² Barchet's naval history, book v. chap. 26. Anna's of queen Anne, vol. v. *Mémoire historique et politique*, tome xl. p. 637. London Gazette, N^o. 4228, 4241.

Ostend. A scheme had been contrived by some of the land-officers for destroying the little vessels belonging to that port ; but when it came to be executed, it was found wholly impracticable. The entrance of the harbour being long, narrow, and crooked, whatever vessel or ship attempted to go in, must inevitably be much exposed to the platform of guns ; so that there seemed but little hopes of attempting any thing against the ships by sea, which lay all in a cluster close to the quay, on the back side of the town ; but there were letters in the camp which insinuated, that as soon as the trenches were opened, the batteries raised, and some bombs thrown into the place, the Spaniards in garrison, assisted by the seamen and burghers, would oblige the French garrison to yield.

On the nineteenth of June, the trenches were opened before the place ; Sir Stafford Fairborne, with his squadron, cannonaded it by sea, and at the same time two bomb-vessels were sent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great execution. Sir Stafford likewise caused all the small frigates to run in as near the town as possible, and to discharge their broadsides ; which they did with so little damage to themselves, and so great hurt to the place, that the people began to mutiny, and the governor found himself (as he pretended) under a necessity of capitulating, which he did on the twenty-fifth.

Thus the city of Ostend, which had formerly held out so many months, was taken in a week ; though, besides the Spanish garrison, count de la Mothe, was there with a considerable body of French troops, which he undertook should not serve again in six months ; and, as one of their own writers pleasantly says, it had been very happy for France, if he had for himself undertaken never to serve again. After the surrender of Ostend, Sir Stafford Fairborne returned to Spithead, to assist in conveying a body of troops that were intended for a descent^a.

Before

^a In the siege of Ostend, the duke of Marlborough gave signal proofs of his personal courage ; for, coming to make a visit to M. d'Auverquerque, he went into the trenches, where he staid a considerable time, and examined every thing very attentively, though the enemy, who had slackened their fire before, renewed it with excessive violence, as soon as they knew by the salute of the

Before we speak of the proceedings of the grand fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, it will be requisite to say something of the intended descent which we have just mentioned: this was a design framed upon the representation of some French Huguenots; particularly the famous marquis Guiscard, who was afterwards engaged in a design to assassinate the queen. The land-forces designed for this service consisted of very near ten thousand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the earl Rivers; under him by the lieutenant-generals Earle and de Guiscard: the earl of Effex, and lord Mordaunt, eldest son to the earl of Peterborough, were to serve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of August the fleet under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, sailed from St. Helen's; but not being joined time enough by the Dutch, this project proved abortive; and it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed to Lisbon with these forces on board, and that they should be employed in the service of his Catholic majesty^b.

It does not appear, that after their disappointment in this scheme of making a descent on France, the ministry came to any resolution as to the employment of the grand fleet, or of the land-forces on board it; it looks as if all things had been trusted to the wisdom of the admiral, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and of the general. The fleet was extremely late before it sailed for the Mediterranean, viz. the first of October, and being in the Soundings on the tenth of the same month, the *Barfleur*, a second rate, sprung a dangerous leak, which obliged the admiral to send her home, and to take the earl Rivers, and his principal officers, into his own ship the *Association*. Proceeding in their voyage, they met with exceeding bad weather, in-somuch, that when the admiral arrived in the river of Lisbon, he had with him but four men of war, and fifty transports; but he had the good luck to find the rest of the fleet arrived

the fleet, that his grace was come to the camp. In doing this, contrary to his usual custom, he shewed, that when he was more careful of his person, it was out of respect to the service, and not for any want of that temper of mind which commonly passes for heroism.

^b Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 453. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 310, 311. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome xli. p. 207, 208. *Lon. Gaz.* No. 4252.

before

before him, so that he began immediately to prepare for action, and sent two ships of Sir George Byng's squadron to Alicante, with money and necessaries for the army, then under the command of the earl of Galway, which was in very great want of them^c.

While he was thus employed, he heard, with great regret, of the disorders that had fallen out in the Spanish court and in our army. It is very hard to say, who was, or who was not, in the right; but this is certain, that in consequence of these disputes, king Charles III. lost his interest among the Spaniards; and though he was once master of Madrid, he was forced to quit it again, and his affairs began to fall into such confusion, that the admiral at Lisbon could scarce tell what he had to do, or how he was to act for his Catholic majesty's service, and therefore thought it requisite to send colonel Worsley to Valencia, in order to receive from the king himself, and the general, a certain account of their affairs, and a true state of the services they expected from him. While this gentleman was gone, and before the admiral had it in his power to take any settled resolution, the king of Portugal died, which threw the affairs of that kingdom into some confusion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We before observed, that the Portuguese ministry acted in a manner no way suitable to the strict alliance which then subsisted between our court and theirs. But now things grew worse and worse; and whatever sentiments the new king might be of, his ministers ventured to take some such steps, as were not to be borne with patience by an admiral of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's temper^d.

Upon the return of colonel Worsley, the admiral was apprized, by letters from the king and the earl of Galway, that,

^c Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. xxiv. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 245. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome xli. p. 579. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4268.

^d In order to be better informed of the particulars here mentioned, the reader may consult our larger historians, the collections of Lamberti, and the memoirs of the count de la Torres. The narrow bounds prescribed to my work, will not allow me to enter deeply into political disquisitions, for that would draw me beside my purpose, so that whenever I touch upon them, it is only to preserve the connection that is necessary to render the accounts I give of naval affairs easy, and fully understood.

unless he could bring earl Rivers, and the forces under his command, and land them so as that they might come to their assistance, things were likely to fall into as great confusion as they were in the winter before, whereby all the advantages would be lost which had been afterwards procured at so vast an expence, both of blood and treasure, by the maritime powers. These advices gave the admiral so much the more concern, as he knew that the ships were so much damaged by the rough weather they had met with in their passage, that it was impossible to fit them speedily for sea; and that, on the other hand, the land-forces were so much reduced by sickness, death, and other accidents, that, instead of ten, there were scarce six thousand effective men. He resolved, however, to do the best he could to comply with the king and the general's desire; the rather because he saw that nothing but spirit and diligence could possibly recover those advantages, which had been lost through divisions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing, with the utmost diligence, the mischief that had been done to his ships; directed the transports to be victualled, and made the other necessary dispositions for proceeding with both the fleet and army for the Spanish coast, and in the mean time dispatched five men of war with a considerable sum of money and clothes for the troops^e, and was on the very point of embarking the forces, when he was restrained by an order from England, of which we shall say more when we come to treat of the transactions of the ensuing year, to which it properly belongs^f.

In the mean time, captain William Coney, who commanded the *Romney*, a ship of fifty guns, having been dispatched, as we before observed, by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to cruize in those seas, and being then with the *Milford* and *Fowey*, two fifth rates, they received intelligence on the twelfth of December, that a French ship of sixty guns, with thirty pieces of fine brass

^e London Gazette, N^o. 4289.

^f I cannot pretend to say where the blame lay, as to the miscarriages that happened in Spain; the reader will perhaps be best able to judge by comparing Dr. Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, the earl of Oalway's narrative, and the impartial inquiry into the wars there, which I have so often quoted.

cannon on board, that had been taken out of the ship commanded by M. de Pointis, and which he had run ashore when he fled from Sir John Leake, lay at anchor under the cannon of Malaga, he resolved to go and attempt her; which design he put in execution, though one of the fifth rates was accidentally disabled, and the other separated from him; and sailing directly under the cannon of the place, cut her from her anchors, notwithstanding all the fire they could make, and carried her safe into the harbour of Gibraltar.

On the twenty-sixth of the same month he chased, and came up with another French ship, called the *Content*, that carried sixty-four guns. The captain of her, instead of attempting to fight the English ships, got as soon as he could under the cannon of a little castle, about eight leagues west of America, where he crept as close as it was possible to the shore. Captain Coney anchored before him, and ordered the *Milford* and *Fowey* to do the same, the one a-head, the other a-stern. They plied their guns for about three hours very briskly, and then the French ship took fire, blew up, and was entirely destroyed, with most of her men. This ship had been detached by M. Villars, to bring the before-mentioned ship from Malaga. Some time after captain Coney took another French ship, called the *Mercury*, of forty-two guns, which the French king had lent the merchants, and which at their expence was fitted out as a privateer^b.

I should now proceed to resume the history of affairs in the West Indies, but that there remains a remarkable action or two in Europe, which I think deserve notice, and therefore I have set them down here, in the close of the year, by themselves, not finding it so easy to reduce them to any particular service. On the nineteenth of April, the *Resolution*, a seventy-gun ship, command-

^a Burchet, p. 729. Lediard, vol. ii. p. 812. But both their accounts are taken from the London Gazette, N^o. 4298.

^b Mr. secretary Burchet says, this happened on the 8th of July; but Mr. Lediard conjectured very rightly, that, instead of July, it should have been January; and so it appears by the account we have of this transaction in the Gazette, N^o. 4304, where the article is dated from Lisbon, February 5. N. S. which is one proof out of many of the wretched incorrectness of this naval history, as to dates, in which one would have expected; from its author's station, remarkable regularity and exactness.

ed by captain Mordaunt, youngest son of the earl of Peterborough, having his father on board, and his Catholic majesty's envoy to the duke of Savoy, fell in with six large ships of the enemy, in his passage to Genoa; the earl of Peterborough perceiving the danger, desired that himself, and the Spanish envoy, might be put on board a small frigate, called the Enterprize; for as he took his business then to be negotiating, not fighting, he was willing to escape to Oneglia, if it was possible; which, according to his usual good fortune, he was lucky enough to effect.

The Milford, a fifth rate, which we have lately mentioned, was likewise with captain Mordaunt, but seeing the danger, ran from it; and escaped. On the twentieth the weather proved very bad, so that the Resolution was in part disabled; which gave the enemy an opportunity of coming up with her; upon which captain Mordaunt, by advice of his officers, resolved to run her ashore, having received a great deal of damage in the engagement. About three in the afternoon he effected this; and ran her a-ground in a sandy bay, within a third of a cable's length of the land; and directly under the cannon of the castle of Ventimiglia, belonging to the Genoese, who notwithstanding gave them not the least assistance. About half an hour after four, captain Mordaunt, being disabled by a shot in his thigh, was carried on shore; but would not retire far from his ship; and about five the French commodore manned out all the boats of his squadron, in order to board the Resolution, under the fire of one of their seventy-gun ships, which plied ours warily all the while; but the Resolution, even in the condition she was in, gave them such a reception, as obliged them to return to their respective ships. On the twenty-first, about half an hour past six in the morning, one of the enemy's ships of eighty guns weighing her anchor, brought to under the Resolution's stern, and about nine o'clock, a spring being put under the cable, she lay with her broadside towards her, while she at the same time looked with her head right into the shore, so that it was not possible to bring any more guns to bear upon the French ship, than those of her stern-chace; and the others being within less than gun-shot, and the water coming into the Resolution as high as her gun-deck, captain Mordaunt sent to his officers for their

opinion what was fitting to be done; and, pursuant to their advice, he gave them directions to set her immediately on fire, which they did about eleven o'clock, after the men were all put on shore; and by three in the afternoon she was burnt to the water's edge¹.

In the month of November, a singular adventure happened to the Lisbon packet-boat, which was taken by a Dunkirk privateer of considerable force. The mate, who had the care of the packet, hid it when the privateer appeared first in sight, and being soon after killed, the captain threw over a chest of papers, with a weight of lead, just as the enemy boarded him, which they took for the mail, and therefore did not make so strict a search as otherwise they would have done. At sea they were separated from the privateer, which gave eleven English sailors an opportunity of rising upon fifteen Frenchmen, making themselves masters of the vessel, and carrying her into the Texel, where the government letters were happily found, sewed up in an oil-skin case, and thrown into a water-cask. We ended our last account of affairs in the West Indies with the return of admiral Graydon's squadron from thence: it is now requisite that we should enter into a detail of what passed in those parts, from that time to the close of the year 1706².

The complaints which had been made in almost every session of parliament, of miscarriages and misdemeanors in the West Indies, engaged the ministry to make choice of Sir William Whetstone to go thither with a squadron of seven men of war, in order to settle affairs after the ravages which they had an account had been committed in those parts. He sailed accordingly with the trade in the spring of the year 1705, and arrived, on the seventeenth of May, safely at Jamaica³. There he soon received intelligence, that a stout squadron of the enemy's ships was on the coast of Hispaniola, and that several rich ships were speedily expected from the coast of New Spain. Upon this, he ordered the squadron to be put in a posture of sailing as soon as possible, and having left a sufficient convoy for the protection of

¹ Burchet's naval history, p. 691.

² London Gazette, N^o. 4278.

³ London Gazette, N^o. 4105, 4154.

the homeward-bound fleet, he proceeded, on the sixth of June, for the Spanish coast ^m.

On the seventeenth of the same month, being then within sight of Carthagená, he chased a ship, which in the night ran in among the Sambah keys, where there are very uncertain soundings and shoal-water, insomuch, that the Bristol, a ship of fifty guns, came on ground, but was got off again with little or no damage; however, he came up with the French ship, and after two hours dispute with those that were nearest to her, she submitted. She had forty-six guns mounted, and carried out with her three hundred and seventy men; but buried all but one hundred and fifty, unless it were a few they had put into prizes. She had brought six hundred and forty negroes from Guinea, of which two hundred and forty died, and most of the rest were put on shore at Martinico, the island of St. Thomas and Santa Martha, for they had heard that a squadron of English ships was in the West Indies. The rear-admiral plying then to the eastward, discovered off the river Grande two sail, close in with the land, one of which being forced on shore, was burnt by her own men, being a privateer fitted out at Martinico, to disturb our trade.

The coast being thus alarmed, and no prospect of any immediate service, he returned back to Jamaica; but appointed three of the best sailers to cruise twenty days off Anigada, in the windward passage, for the French in their return home, it being the usual season for them to go from Petit Guavas, Port de Paix, and other places; but those ships joined him again without meeting with any success ⁿ.

On his return to Jamaica, he had intelligence of a rich ship bound from Carthagená to Port Lewis, and in order to take her, he detached the Montague and the Hector, who though they missed their intended prize, brought in a French ship of twenty-four guns, laden with sugar, indigo, and hides. Towards the latter end of the same month, the rear-admiral put to sea, to cruise off Hispaniola, where he met with such a storm, as forced him back to Jamaica in a very distressed condi-

^m Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. 20.

ⁿ Burchet's naval history, p. 698. London Gazette, N^o. 4154.

tion. While the ships, particularly his own, were refitting, the Montague, a sixty-gun ship, was sent to cruize on the coast of Hispaniola, where he met with two French ships, one of forty-eight, the other of thirty-six guns, and the captain bravely engaged them both till he lost them in the night. The next morning he had fight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the engagement, but his officers and seamen were not in the humour to fight, and so the Frenchmen escaped. The captain, (whose name Mr. Burchet hath not thought fit to transmit to posterity, though for what reason I cannot imagine), on his return to Jamaica complained to the admiral, and brought the whole affair under the examination of a court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his duty to the utmost of his power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his officers, they were broke, as they well deserved, and many of his seamen punished.

The admiral, in the mean time, to repair this mistake as far as he was able, sent two fourth rates, the Bristol and the Folkestone, in quest of those ships, they fell in with them and the vessels under their convoy; they behaved very briskly in seizing the defenceless merchant-men; but though they had it absolutely in their power to have fought at least, if not to have taken the men of war, they let them slip through their hands, with half the fleet under their care; for which scandalous neglect, the senior officer, whose name is again missing in Mr. Burchet's history, but which I have reason to believe was Anderson, came to be tried, broke, and rendered incapable to serve at sea.

I am very sorry that a more particular detail of these affairs cannot be had, because the merit of history is the bestowing

° Burchet's naval hist. p. 699. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4176.

p Mr. Oldmixon, who was the author of the British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 314, gives us the following account. The Bristol and Folkestone met with ten sail of merchant-men, bound from Petit Gravas to France, under convoy of two French men of war, one of four and twenty, and another of thirty guns, out of which captain Anderson, commodore of the English, took six merchant-men, laden with sugar, cocoa, cochineal, and indigo, and brought them to Jamaica. When he arrived, admiral Whetstone held a court-martial, and captain Anderson, with the other officers, were condemned to lose their commissions for not engaging the French men of war.

just praises on worthy men, and setting such a mark of disgrace on men of another character as they deserve. A little after these unlucky incidents, while the admiral was detained for want of stores at Jamaica, the *Suffolk*, where his flag was flying, by some unfortunate accident, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the gun-room, where most of the men were killed, and seventy more in their hammocks were so burnt, that the greatest part of them died. When things were once more put in tolerable order, he sailed for the coast of Hispaniola, and had thoughts of stretching over again to the main, with a view to have sent the orders of his Catholic majesty, king Charles III. to the governor of Carthageña; but finding this impracticable, and himself much too weak to undertake any thing against the French in those seas, he returned back to Jamaica⁹.

I do not find in any of the accounts that I have met with, that Sir William Whetstone was so much as suspected of being in any degree wanting in his duty; but so it was, that through neglects of our admiralty, and a mercenary spirit in some of our governors of colonies, and captains of men of war, things were fallen into such distraction in the West Indies, that we were not either in a condition to hurt the enemy's settlements, or so much as able to defend our own. The truth seems to be, that the great fleets we fitted out every year for the Mediterranean, and the cruizers that were necessary upon our own coasts, took up so many ships, that it was scarce possible to supply even the reasonable demands of the West Indies.

The enemy, on the other hand, had some very signal advantages; for after Sir George Rooke had taught them, that sea-fights were not for their advantage, they had recourse to their old trade of carrying on a piratical war; and as they had little trade to protect, and many good ships, they were able to furnish out stout squadrons for this purpose. Add to all that has been said, the great concerns they had in the West Indies, where

⁹ Burchet's naval history, p. 699. During the time that the admiral was in the West Indies, he had, as some write, the good fortune to make prize of two rich Spanish ships, on board of which were two hundred thousand pieces of eight, and a great quantity of valuable goods. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xli. p. 309.

now not only the French, but the Spanish settlements were immediately under their care, and where, as France had the free use of the ports, so she had the direction also of the naval force of both nations, without which she could never have carried on the war^r.

The driving the English out of the Leeward-islands, was the point the French had most in view, and having a very exact account of our condition there, the governor of St. Domingo, M. Iberville, had orders to assist in an attempt that was to be made on St. Christopher's. It is in truth a very difficult thing to give a fair account of this matter, since the French magnify it, and such of our writers as have taken any notice of it, have done all they could to lessen and disparage it. The most probable relation that I have met with amongst many, sets the affair in this light. The count de Chavagnac, with a small squadron of French men of war, attacked the island of St. Christopher's in the month of March, where they burnt and plundered several plantations; but when they came to attack the castle, they were repulsed with loss^s. They would, however, in all probability, have carried their point at last, if the governor of Barbadoes, on receiving information of what had happened, had not sent down thither a sloop, with intelligence to the governor, that a squadron from England was coming to his relief. This reaching the ears of the French, as it was intended it should, they embarked in much haste, after having done a great deal of mischief; but, however, nothing comparable to what the French writers say^t.

^r I do not pretend to give the reader these reflections as my own, because I am very sensible that they have been made before by other writers. All the merit that I would assume, is, that of introducing them properly, and so as to prove what it certainly imports us much to know, that the French are as vigilant in making the most of every advantage, as we are generally backward in using such opportunities as our situation and naval force afford.

^s Burchet's naval hist. p. 699. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4230. *Mercur historique et politique*, tome xl. p. 618.

^t Father Daniel, in his journal of the reign of Lewis XIV. p. 236. computes the plunder of St. Christopher's at three millions of French money, or 150,000 pounds of ours; which is, I think, incredible; especially, if the French retired in some kind of consternation; and that they did is pretty certain, since the count de Chavagnac was questioned about it when he returned to France.

But,

But, unluckily for us, before count de Chavagnac sailed; count Iberville joined him with his Squadron; so that they had now five stout men of war, some frigates, and twenty sloops, with which they resolved to attack Nevis. They landed in Green-bay, in the evening of the twenty-second of the same month, which was Good-Friday; and they pushed their operations so briskly, that by the twenty-fourth, which was Easter-Sunday, the inhabitants made a capitulation, by which they promised to deliver up all their negroes, and to procure a number of prisoners, equal to that of themselves, to be set at liberty in Europe, in consideration of their not being taken off the island. Our Gazette says, that the French broke these articles, by treating them barbarously, burning their houses and sugar-works, and other actions of the like nature. But other accounts say, that the inhabitants could not comply with their capitulation, because the negroes retiring into the mountains, stood on their defence, and when attacked, killed a great number of the French. Upon this the inhabitants came to a new agreement on the sixth of April, in which they undertook to deliver to the French, in less than six months, one thousand four hundred negroes, or one hundred and forty thousand pieces of eight; upon which the French retired, carrying off with them most of the effects, and a great number of negroes, but fewer certainly than seven thousand, as a French historian computes them^u. A little after this unfortunate accident, commodore Ker arrived with a considerable force in the Leeward-islands, and having stationed several ships according to his instructions, he bore away with the rest for Jamaica, which was then thought to be in danger, from the junction of Iberville's Squadron, with that of Ducasse^v.

In the mean time rear-admiral Whetstone sailed with a few ships from Jamaica, in hopes of attacking Ducasse, before he

^u Most of these particulars I have drawn from a private letter, written by a planter, but ten days after the last capitulation. The inquisitive reader may consult the Gazette, N^o. 4242, and Oldmixon's history of the British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 254. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xli. p. 298.

^v Burchet's naval hist. p. 700. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4265. *Histoire de St. Domingue*, vol. iv. p. 222.

was joined by the succours he expected. But this design being defeated by bad weather, he returned to Jamaica about the middle of July, and towards the latter end of the same month was joined by commodore Ker, with the squadron under his command. There being now so considerable a force, the admiral was very desirous that something should be attempted capable of effacing the memory of past mistakes, and worthy the naval force of the British nation. After mature deliberation, it was resolved to proceed to Carthagea, where they knew the galleons were, to try what effects king Charles's letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our successes in Europe, to own him for his rightful sovereign in America. With this view, Sir William Whetstone and captain Ker sailed from Jamaica on the eighth of August, and on the eighteenth arrived before Carthagea, and sent in a packet to the governor. At first he trifled a little, and gave evasive answers, but when more closely pressed, he declared roundly, that he knew no sovereign but Philip V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen large galleons, lying close in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the pilots unanimously declared, that any such design would be found impracticable, unless we were first in possession of Bocca Chica castle, and the other forts; and even in that case, it was very doubtful whether ships of so great a size as theirs could get in*.

Then it was taken into consideration, what further service might be done, and the result of this was, a resolution to return to Jamaica: from whence, as soon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and commodore Ker to remain behind, in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the West Indies. This scheme was immediately put in execution, and, upon their return, Sir William made all possible dispatch, in order to get home in time; and accordingly leaving the island the latter end of October, he arrived at Plymouth on the twenty-third of December, 1706, with the Suffolk, Bristol, Reserve, and Vulcan fire-ship, and a

* Burchet's naval hist. p. 700. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4275.

fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, having been landed abroad, and performed little, though no man in the service had shewn a greater spirit of activity, before his being sent on this West India expedition ¹.

The squadron which commodore Ker brought into the West Indies, consisted of six ships of the line, three frigates, and a fire-ship. With this force he stretched over from Jamaica to the coast of Hispaniola, from thence to the main, where he cruized till the fourth of September; and then the winds proving northerly, he returned to Hispaniola, on the coast of which island he held a council of war, in order to determine whether it might not be practicable to surprize Port Lewis. But the pilots not being well acquainted with the entrance into that port, it was resolved to proceed directly to Petit Guavas, and to go to the northward of the island of Guanaua, in order the better to prevent their design from being discovered. On the thirteenth of September he detached captain Boyce, in the Dunkirk-prize, with all the boats in the squadron manned and armed, with orders to range along the bays of Leogane and Petit Guavas, in the night, with all imaginable care and caution; and so to dispose themselves as that they might destroy the enemy's ships in either of those roads, and be able to return to the squadron next morning on a signal given. But how well soever this scheme might be laid, it miscarried through the ill conduct of some of the officers, who running in too near the shore, alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree, that any farther attempt was rendered impracticable ².

Upon this disappointment, commodore Ker returned to Jamaica; in order to refit his vessels, and to repair the damage he had sustained in this fruitless expedition. But while he was thus employed, he was attacked by a new and greater evil, occasioned by a mortality which prevailed among the seamen, and that to such a degree, as in a manner utterly disabled him from any further service. The merchants, however, who suffered for want of ships to protect them, losing abundance of sloops, laden with silver, upon the Spanish coasts, began to complain

¹ London Gazette, N^o. 4292. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xlii. p 98.

² Borchet's naval hist. p. 700. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 815.

loudly of the commodore's conduct ; and even went so far, as to send home an agent, who had instructions to lay the matter before the house of commons, where, after a full and fair examination, this officer's behaviour received a censure, in consequence of which he was laid aside. In the mean time the command in the West Indies fell into the hands of Sir John Jennings, who had been, as we before observed, detached for that purpose, with a considerable squadron from the Streights. But, as his proceedings belong to the succeeding year, we must refer the reader to that part of our history, for an account of them^a.

We must, before we leave America, take notice of a disappointment the enemy met with in attacking Carolina. The French had long had their eyes on our northern colonies, which were then in a very flourishing condition ; amongst other projects that M. Iberville had been furnished with, one was the attacking, and, as far as it should be in his power, destroying the province of Carolina. When therefore he had finished his designs in the Leeward-islands, he sailed with a squadron of six men of war, and several transports for South Carolina. He made a descent in the neighbourhood of Charles-town, with about eight hundred and fifty soldiers and seamen, and sent an officer to summon the governor to surrender the city and colony to the French king, telling him at the same time, that he would allow him but an hour to consider of it. Sir Henry Johnson told him, that was much too long a space, for that he did not want half a minute to resolve on doing his duty ; and that therefore he was at liberty to return, and tell those that sent him, that the English were not to be frightened with words, for they should soon find that they were able to return blows.

Upon this spirited answer followed an attack, in which the French met with so vigorous a resistance, that they were glad to retreat with the loss of three hundred killed, drowned or taken ; and among the latter ten officers, viz. their chief com-

^a I thought it more expedient to take notice of this matter here, than postpone it absolutely, till we come to speak of the proceedings of parliament, in the year 1707, where we shall however be obliged to resume it, and where the reader will have a more particular account of what the offences were, with which this gentleman was charged.

commander at land, his lieutenant, three captains of ships, four lieutenants, and a master, who together offered ten thousand pieces of eight for their ransoms. One of the French ships having ventured to make a descent at the distance of six miles from Charles-town, the governor sent a detachment of militia to the assistance of the planters, who were so lucky as to make themselves masters of the ship, with all its crew, which consisted of about one hundred and forty men^b.

The French had also some designs upon New York, of which we had so early intelligence in England, that lord Cornbury, eldest son to the earl of Clarendon, was sent over to take upon him the government; and he finding all things in great confusion, and the few fortresses in that country running to ruin, first obtained from the assembly a considerable supply for that service, and then ordered a general embargo to be laid, which enabled him to employ fifteen hundred men, in working on their fortifications; so that they were, in a very short time, put into a good posture of defence, and all the views of the enemy disappointed on that side. We had not, however, as great success in bringing home the Virginia fleet, part of which fell into the hands of the French privateers, and the rest were separated by a storm, which occasioned great apprehensions and uneasinesses about them; but most of them, notwithstanding, arrived at last safe in the western ports. The merchants, however, raised loud complaints against the admiralty, who had now, in a great measure, lost their interest in the house of commons; so that whatever charges were brought against them, had all the encouragement that could be expected, and the merchants were left at full liberty to produce their witnesses, and to make out all that they could; which, though it afforded no remedy to these mischiefs, yet it took the weight off the ministry, and gave the nation general satisfaction, as all inquiries, strictly and impartially prosecuted, ever must^c.

^b See the complete history of Europe, for the year 1706, p. 548. and the *Mercur* hist. 1707, vol. i. p. 99. Father Daniel takes not the least notice of the matter, and indeed few or none of the French historians have courage enough to report fairly their defeats.

^c Burnet, *Oldmixon*, *British empire in America*, vol. ii. p. 245.

We are now, according to the method hitherto pursued in this work, to give the reader an account of the measures taken for the supplying the service of the succeeding year; and this the success attending the war, both by sea and land, enables us to do in a very short space. The queen opened the sessions on the third of December, 1706, with a most gracious speech, wherein she took notice of what had been already done, and of the reasons which obliged her to desire, that as great dispatch as possible might be given to the supplies; and how much weight her majesty's recommendation had, will appear from hence, that though they amounted to no less than five millions eight hundred ninety-three thousand three hundred eighty-one pounds fifteen shillings and three-pence three farthings, yet they were voted in less than a week; so that the queen came on the twenty-first to the house of peers, and having sent for the commons, the speaker presented the bills, and in his speech on that occasion, took notice, "That as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough, at Ramillies, was so surprizing, that the battle was fought before it could be thought the armies were in the field, so it was no less surprizing, that the commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that her parliament was sitting^d."

This care of the public thus shewn, the house went into the consideration of the several expeditions executed within the compass of the preceding year; and after a long debate, on the twenty-seventh of January, in relation to the method of carrying on the war in Spain, it was carried on the question, by a majority of two hundred and fifty, against one hundred and fifty, that the several sums of money for the extraordinary services for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by this house, had been advanced and expended for the preservation of our firm ally the duke of Savoy, for promoting the interest of king Charles III. in Spain, against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation^e. Not long after, the house proceeded to take into consideration the report from the com-

^d See Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 47.
^e Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 469. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 435.

mittee, to whom the petition of several proprietors of plantations in the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's in America, and other merchants trading to the same, on behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants and traders to the said islands, was referred, and the same being read, it was resolved, "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she will be pleased to appoint such persons, as her majesty shall think fit, to inquire into the true state of the losses of the people of the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's, in order to lay the same before this house the next session of parliament, to apply what may be convenient for the better securing those islands, and supplying them with necessaries in order to a resettlement." The said address being presented accordingly, her majesty was pleased to answer, "That she was very well pleased to find the house of commons had so compassionate a sense of the losses of her subjects in Nevis and St. Christopher's; as also with the concern they shewed upon this occasion for the plantations, which were so justly intitled to their care, by the large returns they made to the public; and her majesty would give the necessary orders for what the house had desired in that matter." Accordingly her majesty was afterwards pleased to appoint two gentlemen, of known ability and integrity, to go to the said islands, to procure an exact state of the losses of her subjects there, in order to their being put on such a footing, as might be best for the particular benefit of the inhabitants, and the general good of these kingdoms.

The house having had notice of the great declension of our interest in, and of our lucrative trade to Newfoundland; the Marquis of Caermarthen having likewise acquainted them, that certain pirates had made a great and dangerous settlement at Madagascar, where they threatened to erect a kind of thievish republic, little inferior to those on the coast of Barbary; and having offered to go himself with a small squadron, to put an end to this mischief while there was a probability of doing it, the house appointed a committee to take these matters into their

f The complete history of Europe for 1707, p. 118. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 65.

consideration;

consideration; who, after having thoroughly examined them, came to the following resolutions⁸:

“ I. That a great number of pirates have settled themselves in
“ the island of Madagascar, from whence they have committed
“ many great piracies, robberies, and depredations, very ruin-
“ ous to trade, and whereby the lives of many of her majesty’s
“ good subjects have been destroyed.

“ II. That an humble address be presented to her majesty,
“ that she would be graciously pleased to take into her royal
“ consideration, how the said pirates may be suppressed, and
“ their further piracies, robberies, and depredations, may be
“ effectually prevented.” Which resolutions were on the 8th
of April agreed to by the house. The same day it was resolved,
“ That an humble address be presented to her majesty, that she
“ will be graciously pleased to use her royal endeavours to re-
“ cover and preserve the ancient possessions, trade, and fishery,
“ in Newfoundland.”

Her majesty received these addresses very graciously, and promised that proper care should be taken with respect to the matters contained in them: and thus ended the proceedings of this session of parliament, with which I shall conclude the events of this winter.

We have now run through the naval transactions of about eighteen years, in which short space there happened so many things worthy of remark, and our maritime power increased to such a degree, that it is with no small difficulty that I have been able to bring them into this compass. But a bare relation of events will very little benefit ordinary readers, if they are not attended with some few reflections, in order to point out the advantages and disadvantages which beset society in consequence of these transactions. The two wars in which we were engaged, in conjunction with the Dutch, as they demonstrated on the one hand our mighty power at sea, so on the other they put us to a prodigious expence. The house of commons, in the year 1702, in a representation to the queen, say expressly, that from November 1688, to March the eighth, 1701, there had been raised

⁸ Oldmixon’s history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 387. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 482.

for the service of the war, forty-five millions five hundred sixty-eight thousand seven hundred twenty-five pounds nineteen shillings and two-pence half-penny; an immense sum indeed! As to the expences of queen Anne's war, we shall take notice of them when we come to the conclusion of it: at present let us observe, that one national end, with respect to England, was, in this last war particularly, in a great measure answered, I mean the destruction of the French power at sea; for after the battle of Malaga, we hear no more of their great fleets; and though by this the number of their privateers was very much increased, yet the losses of our merchants were far less in the latter than in the former reign, which I think was chiefly owing to a series of inquiries constantly carried on either in one house of parliament or the other.

The success of our arms at sea, and the necessity of protecting our trade, joined to the popularity of every step taken towards the increasing our maritime power, occasioned such measures to be pursued in order thereto, as annually added to its force. The great storm in 1703, the misfortunes that so many squadrons met with in the West Indies, our ill luck in regard to the Dunkirk privateers, and, in short, every other untoward accident which fell out within this period of time, though it bore hard upon private persons, and was injurious to our trade in general, yet it was in the main beneficial to our marine, inasmuch as it gave a handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. Hence arose that mighty difference which, at the close of the year 1706, appeared in the royal navy; which not only in the number, but in the quality of the ships of which it was composed, was greatly superior to what it had been from the time of the revolution, or even before it.

The economy and discipline of our marine was also much mended, and those jealousies in a great measure worn out, which had been very prejudicial to men of the greatest merit, during the preceding reign, as they certainly were in the latter part of this, when they were most unfortunately revived. The great encouragement given to the sailors, by taking the utmost care of the sick and wounded, exact and speedy paying of prize-money, and the many extraordinary orders that from time to time were issued in their favour, and are still to be met with in

our

our Gazettes, from whence some of them have been cited in this work, gave a mighty spirit to our sailors, and in a manner extinguished that prejudice which has since revived against going to sea in a man of war. Thus, in this respect, whatever we might do in others, the nation certainly throve by the war, that is to say, we grew constantly stronger, our fleets more numerous and better manned; so that at the time I conclude this chapter, we were much more capable of asserting our claim to the dominion of the sea, than at the time the war began.

If any of my readers should entertain a doubt, either as to the truth of the facts here laid down, or the validity of the judgment I have delivered upon them, I think I need only turn him over, for satisfaction, to foreign authors; for certainly, if they concur in sentiment with me on this head, there ought to be no dispute about it. But if we dip into any of the French political writers, we shall not fail to find them deploring the visible decay of their maritime power, from the time of the battle of Malaga, and constantly blaming the administration for not bending their thoughts to the recovery of it so much as they ought to have done; which they, generally speaking, ascribe to the vast expence of the war by land, which would not, by any means, admit the diverting such supplies as were necessary for the service of the sea. From these complaints, which are certainly well founded, it is manifest that, on the one hand, their maritime power declined, whilst ours increased; and, on the other, that this declension grew so fast upon them, that their ablest ministers thought it in vain to struggle, and therefore gave up all further concern for their reputation in this respect, in a fit of despair, out of which nothing but our inactivity or negligence would recover them.

To this I may add, that as the Spanish naval power had been long decaying, so by this war it was totally destroyed; they had indeed a few gallies in the battle of Malaga, and it may be half a dozen men of war in the West Indies; but, upon the whole, they had such occasion for ships of force, and had so few of them, that the assistance given them by the French, contributed not a little to the declension of their marine, as appears by the destruction of their men of war at Vigo, which was a loss they were never able to repair; and though it be
very

very true, that whilst Spain was governed by a prince of the house of Austria, and lived in amity with us, we were rather bound to encourage and protect, than any way to lessen or depress the Spanish power at sea; yet by the passing of this crown into the house of Bourbon, our interest, in this respect, was entirely changed, and the lessening their maritime strength was a comparative augmentation of our own; and this I take to be the principal reason, that through the course of the war, France complained so much of the burden of Spain. For though by the returns of her plate-fleets; and letting the French for a time share in the trade of the South-Seas, she might repair that loss of treasure; which the maintaining so many armies for her service might occasion, yet the loss of that maritime power, which was now to protect both states, was a loss that never could be repaired; as reason informed all wise people then, and as we have been taught by experience since.

It may, perhaps, be said, that as the Dutch were concerned in this war as well as we; as they shared jointly in the dangers and expences of it; so they must have been equally gainers in respect to their trade and maritime power. But as to this it is most evident, that the French, according to the information they received from the most intelligent Dutchmen, take the thing to be quite otherwise, and argue on it to the Dutch themselves, as if it was a fact out of dispute; from whence they take occasion to alledge, that while the English made a pretence of ruining the maritime power of France, they in reality aimed at doing as much for the Dutch, in order to secure universal trade, and the supreme power of the sea, to themselves. How far the fortune of war might put this in our power, I will not say, but this I will venture to assert, and hope it will be readily credited; that such a thing was never in our intention. The supplanting allies is a strain of policy common to the French, but, without partiality I may say, unknown to Britons. We have fought for our allies, and conquered for our allies; nay, we have sometimes paid our allies for fighting in their own cause, and for their own profit; but to outwit our allies, especially our favourite allies the Dutch, was, I dare say, never in our will, or in our power.

This indeed I must own, that in the conduct of this last war, especially to the year 1706, we had as much the lead in councils as ever the Dutch had in the former war; for this we paid largely, and, I think, we had a right to it, if we got any thing by it. I must also ingeniously confess, that the economy of the Dutch greatly hurt their reputation and their trade. Their men of war in the Mediterranean were always victualled short, and their convoys were so weak and ill-provided, that for one ship we lost, they lost five, which begat a general notion, that we were the safer carriers, which certainly had a good effect: so that, taking all things together, I doubt whether the credit of the English nation abroad, or the spirits of the people at home, were ever higher than at this period of time.

Hence it was that our trade rather increased than diminished in this last war, and that we gained so signally by our strict intercourse with Portugal; concerning which I will take the liberty of running over a few facts that are not commonly attended to. When the war first broke out, Portugal was allied to the two crowns; and with great difficulty it was that we detached that monarch from their interest: but the means by which we detached him, ought not to remain a secret. In the treaty he concluded with Lewis XIV. and his grandson, he had stipulated that he should be protected by an annual fleet from France; but when he found that this could not be complied with, and that if he performed his part of the agreement, his coast would be left open to the insults of the maritime powers, he saw the necessity of changing his party, which induced him to make a treaty with us in 1703; and when the French minister, M. de Chateauneuf, reproached him for thus changing sides, Don Pedro replied, with great spirit, "If your master had sent thirty ships of the line to cruize between Lisbon and Setubal, I had never quitted his alliance; and therefore I would have you let him know, that he ought to blame himself, not me, for the consequences."

By the treaty of commerce concluded with the same crown by Mr. Methuen, we were prodigious gainers; and I will even venture to say, that this single alliance was worth more to us, than all the negotiations in the former reign. The Portuguese began to feel the comfortable effects of the mines they had discovered

covered in Brazil, and the prodigious commerce that followed thereupon with us, made their good fortune in this respect, in a great measure ours also; and so it has been ever since, otherwise I know not how the expences of the war could have been borne: for, as Dr. Davenant justly computed, the running cash of this kingdom, at the time the revolution happened, could not be above eighteen millions; at the accession of the queen we had not so much; but at the time of concluding the union it was increased again very considerably, which must be attributed in a great measure to our Portugal trade; and this, as I have made it manifest, we owed entirely to our superior power at sea.

As to our trade with the Spanish West Indies, by the canal of Cadiz, it was certainly very much interrupted by the war at the beginning; but afterwards it was in a good measure restored, as well by our direct correspondence with Spain, after the reduction of several provinces under the power of K. Charles III, as through Portugal, by which a very great, though contraband trade, was carried on. We were at the same time very great gainers by our commerce with the Spaniards in the West Indies, as I am satisfied from several French authors, who complain that their colonies suffered much less from our naval force than they did from the loss of this trade; which is strongly confirmed by the complaints of the Jamaica merchants against commodore Ker, who was very negligent in protecting their sloop trade, by which they were great sufferers. The reason they assign also for his negligence, is yet a stronger proof; for they alledge, that he would not grant them convoys, without sharing in their profits; and if these had not been very considerable, they could never have tempted an officer of his rank to run such a risk. The same thing may be said of the complaints of the other colonies, which, however just in themselves, yet if they, as evident it is they did, grew richer, more populous, and carried their trade farther than in former times, then it is surely as evident, that the nation in general gained considerably in this branch; to which I may add, that the act for giving a bounty upon hemp imported from our plantations, and other laws, were sufficient instances of the inclination of the

ministry to promote commerce and navigation as far as lay in their power.

There is another remark that naturally arises upon this subject, and that is, the mighty spirit which appeared amongst our merchants, and enabled them to carry on all their schemes with such vigour, as kept a constant circulation of money through the kingdom, and afforded such mighty encouragement to all manufactures, as have rendered the remembrance of those times grateful in worse. Our successes abroad, our victories by land and sea, the respect paid to us by all the states of Europe, served to heighten and sustain this spirit, which is at once the source and soul of prosperity; and a nation grows low and lifeless, as soon as it is taken away.

There were indeed some accidental advantages which attended the latter part especially of this period, that have not been always visible in preceding or succeeding times. Amongst these I reckon, in the first place, an unfeigned loyalty; for it was the felicity of this princess, that her person was dear to all her subjects, nay, even to those who questioned her title; and this produced another advantage, which was a kind of coalition of parties, of which I rather chuse to say something at the end of this chapter, because, after the union, parties broke loose again, and threw us, as they will always do, into the utmost confusion. At the beginning of the war, the Tories were as heartily for it as the Whigs; and if they grew weary of it by degrees, it must be acknowledged, that they might be tempted thereto in some respects by the ill usage they met with.

While the duke of Marlborough was esteemed a Tory, his services were often extenuated; and though the parliament gave him thanks, there was a party that denied him merit. When he and the treasurer went over to the Whigs, the scale turned so strongly in their favour, that none could be employed who were not of this denomination; and thus Sir George Rooke was laid aside, immediately after he had gained a victory, honourable in every respect, but most honourable in this, that it was wholly owing to the prudence and conduct of the admiral. Before the Whigs gained this ascendancy, and both parties were embarked in the cause of their country, their unanimity produced those supplies, which enabled our armies and fleets to act

as they did; and taught the most haughty and faithless of all powers, that bounds might be set to its force, though not to its ambition. The last advantage of which I shall speak, was the public spirit of parliaments in the queen's reign. If they gave in one session, they inquired in the next; and it is impossible to mention any remarkable expedition within the first six years, which was not examined and cleared up by such inquiries; so that the people saw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay cheerfully, at the same time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by their industry what might maintain them happily, notwithstanding these large, but necessary expences.

It is certainly matter of great satisfaction to me, and must be so to every man who wishes well to his country, that after running through a series of such events, setting out at first with the sight of so great a naval power as the French king had assembled, while we struggled under many difficulties; and when we got out of that troublesome war, found ourselves loaded with a debt too heavy to be shaken off in a short interval of peace; it must, I say, be a great satisfaction to be able, at the close of this chapter, to assert, that we had overcome all these difficulties; and, instead of seeing the navy of France riding on our coasts, sent every year a powerful fleet to insult theirs, superior to them, not only in the ocean, but in the Mediterranean, forcing them, as it were, intirely out of the sea; and this, not by the thunder of our cannon, but by the distant prospect of our flag; as, at the raising the siege of Barcelona, when the son of the French king, the famous count Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, fled from Sir John Leake, and took shelter in the harbour of Toulon.

By this, we not only secured our trade in the Levant, and strengthened our interest with all the Italian princes, but struck the states of Barbary with terror, and even awed the Grand Signior himself so far, as to prevent his listening to any propositions from France. Such were the fruits of the increase of our naval power, and of the manner in which it was employed; and though some, through misconception of the advantages flowing from this disposition in those princes and states; and some again, from a perverse humour, perhaps, of objecting
against

against whatever carried us into a great expence, inveighed against sending such mighty fleets into those seas ; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this war, such fleets were necessary ; that they at once protected our allies, and attached them to our interest ; and, which is of greater importance than all the rest, that they established our reputation for maritime force so effectually, that we feel even at this day the happy effects of that fame which we then acquired. Of what consequence, therefore, could the expences of these fleets, however large, be to a nation like this ? especially if we consider, that the greatest part of it only shifted hands ; since it is the peculiar property of naval expences, that, though they rise ever so high, they can hardly ever impoverish, because they are raised on one part of the society, and laid out with the other, and, by a natural circulation, must certainly very soon return into the first hands.

It is a further satisfaction, that we can safely say our trade flourished through the course of the war, and our merchants were so loyal to the queen, and so well affected to her government, that upon every occasion they were ready to credit the administration with the best part of that immense wealth that had been raised under their protection. These were glorious times indeed, if riches, victory, and honour, can render a nation glorious ; and for all these mighty advantages, we stood indebted to the maternal affection of the queen ; the wisdom and probity of her ministers ; the heroic courage and generous public-spirit of the officers she employed by land and sea ; and, above all, to the sincere union of parties amongst us, the contempt of private advantages, and a steady concern for the safety, reputation, and future prosperity of this nation.

L I V E S
OF THE
A D M I R A L S:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

C H A P. XXI.

The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN, from the Union of the two kingdoms, to the end of the reign of her majesty queen Anne.

AS I propose to make the UNION of the two kingdoms the great event from whence, in this chapter, I shall deduce our naval history to the present times; and as this event in itself has had a great influence on the naval power and commerce of this nation, I think I cannot act with greater propriety, than to open the chapter with an impartial account of that important transaction*. This I take to be the more

* There were several curious and valuable treatises published on this important subject, amongst others, The rights and interests of the two British monarchies inquired into, and cleared. War between the two British monarchies considered. Essay upon the union: all these in quarto. The interests of the two kingdoms, and the consequences of their union stated. The union of Great Britain in civil and religious concerns, by Simon Mackenzie, of Allangrange, in 8vo. and many others, besides single papers, &c.

necessary,

necessary, because almost all historians, and writers of memoirs, have given too much way to their passions and prejudices, in what they say about it; and this to so great a degree, that they not only contradict and abuse each other, but also darken things in such a manner, that even the most intelligent reader can hardly discern the truth^b. As I am not conscious of feeling in myself so much as a spark of party heat; as I have some relation to, and at the same time an equal affection for both countries, without the least bias in favour of either, I shall endeavour to give a clear, succinct; and fair account of this whole business; in order to which, I shall begin with the motives which induced the queen's ministry to push this matter so earnestly at that time: I shall next consider, the advantages proposed to each nation from this UNION, which will consequently oblige me to say somewhat of the persons who opposed, and the grounds of their opposition to it; after which, I shall give a very short detail of the rise, progress, conclusion, and consequences of it.

It had been very apparent almost to every English ministry; from the time the two kingdoms had been united under one monarch, that something was wanting to complete that strength and harmony, which every reasonable man looked for from this conjunction; neither was it long, before some able statesmen perceived what it was that must produce this effect; and a national union accordingly was proposed in the reign of king James I.^c

It was defeated then, as great and good designs are generally defeated, through want of public spirit. The king was partial to his countrymen, and the English were partial to their country. The former thought it his duty to make all his old dependents rich, in a manner not over justifiable; and the last despised the poverty of that nation to such a degree, that they

^b Bishop Burnet's history of his own times. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts. Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, by George Lockhart, Esq; of Carnwath.

^c See Sir Francis Bacon's weighty speech upon this subject. See also what is thrown out by Francis Osborne, in different parts of his works, upon this topic, more especially in his traditional memoirs of king James I.

forgot how far their own power and riches might suffer from such treatment.

Under king Charles I. his old hereditary subjects departed from their duty to him; and, a potent faction in England inclining the same way, the great weight of these northern neighbours was soon made but too evident, by the murder of the king, and the destruction of the constitutions of both kingdoms. After the restoration, the politics of Charles II. took such a turn, as necessarily occasioned all thoughts of a closer union between the two crowns to be laid aside, it having been a maxim, during his reign, to make use of one nation to awe the other. The unfortunate king James II. sat too short a time on the throne, and felt too many cares, from the time he ascended it; to form any projects of this nature, though otherwise much might have been expected from him; for he was certainly a better judge himself, of the interest of both kingdoms, than any prince of his line. Some thoughts there were of an union in the beginning of king William's time; but the design was dropped from the belief, or rather the apprehension, of its being impracticable^d.

The lord high-treasurer Godolphin, one of the ablest and most prudent ministers we ever had, saw very soon the expediency of such a thorough national union, for the public service, and the necessity of it, for his own safety. He saw that, without this, the Hanover succession could never take place, the war with France be effectually carried on, or the new system that he was then introducing, ever be established on a firm basis. As he was far from affecting the exercise of a boundless arbitrary power, so, to establish his influence in Scotland, he had, through the advice of some of the statesmen of that coun-

^d In the text I have given a succinct account of the several designs formed for uniting the two kingdoms. I am not ignorant, that there were other attempts of that nature; such as in the reign of king Charles II. in the beginning of that of king William; as also in the beginning of the queen's reign; but these were mere acts of state policy, and not founded upon any settled design of really bringing it about; and therefore, as the nature of this work would not allow me to enter into a strict chronological deduction of this affair, I thought the best thing I could do, was to give the reader, as far as in my power lay, a true state of the matter, in the shortest compass possible.

try, given way to the passing some acts of parliament there, which enabled the people to stand upon even ground with the English, and put it in their power, when they were at any time crossed, to carry things very high, and consequently to talk much higher^e.

In order to rid himself of these difficulties, the treasurer, in conjunction with lord Somers, formed the scheme of the union, which they resolved should not be a temporary expedient, but such an act as might remove all their doubts and fears effectually, and for ever. When they had settled this project to their own satisfaction, they took the advice of some great men of the other kingdom, particularly the earl of Stair, a man of vast abilities, and, in all the senses of the word, a perfect politician. He it was who gave them the lights they wanted; he shewed them how, and by what means, his countrymen might be managed; he pointed out such as would oppose it heartily, and such as would oppose it only till they found their account in desisting from that opposition. In short, he gave both the first plan of, and the last form to this great work, and dictated the means which made it both plausible and practicable^f.

In

^e Whatever other writers may assert, this was undoubtedly the fact. The English parliament had recommended the succession, I mean the procuring the Hanover succession to be settled in Scotland, very earnestly. The parliament of Scotland, inclined to make use of this opportunity, to get some favourable conditions stipulated for their trade; and as quiet was at this time very necessary, and in the nature of the thing, perhaps, the desires of the parliament of Scotland not altogether unreasonable, they were allowed to pass an act, by which the prerogative of the crown was limited, and peace and war were left, not only to the approbation, but to the consent of parliament. This, with another act empowering the Scots to arm themselves, alarmed the English house of commons to such a degree, as to address the queen, to order the militia of the four northern counties to be disciplined, and to take some other steps, which had a direct tendency to plunge the two nations in a war. The treasurer, therefore, saw himself under the necessity of bringing about an union, to avoid these mighty inconveniences, and to enable him to carry on his great scheme, of ruining the power of France; which must certainly have miscarried, if these domestic quarrels had come to extremities.

^f The notion of the earl of Stair, that if a considerable number of the Jacobites could be brought to approve this measure as commissioners, they would be forced to second it in parliament, was extremely well founded, as the event proved.

In regard to the advantages resulting from this measure to both kingdoms, they were, in the judgment of the ministry, very great; on the side of England especially, and of Scotland apparently. With regard to the former, the benefits derived from it were real and substantial, but some of them were such as it was not thought proper to avow. For example, the government in England could never be safe, whilst Scotland remained an independent kingdom, at liberty to make laws, set up trading companies, or raise forces whenever she thought fit; nor was the succession safe, while the parliament of Scotland had an indubitable right to depart from that measure, and a strong party was actually formed in that country for departing from it.

An entire, absolute, and uniform dominion over Scotland, was necessary to the safety, power, and commerce of England; and this dominion could be attained no other way. The danger of having princes drawn to pursue different measures in the different kingdoms, or to govern in England upon the maxims of northern ministers, the mischiefs of which had been severely felt, and thoroughly understood, from the power of the duke of Lauderdale with king Charles II. which lasted during life, and which, without disputing how far it was right or wrong, enabled the king to maintain his power in both countries, and that too in a higher degree than was very acceptable to a great part of his subjects, in either, was yet recent.

The other motives that were commonly insisted upon, were these, *viz.* The uniting the interests of both kingdoms, which had often thwarted each other, and thereby giving the united kingdoms, or, which was the same thing, England, much greater force, and consequently much greater weight abroad; the conveniency of bringing both nations under one form of

proved. For, whatever ways and means were made use of, to engage the high Tories in this commission, to sign the articles of the treaty, which (except Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath) they all did; yet this is certain, that they adhered to their sentiments in parliament, and pushed the affair with effect; so that, if we consider that it brought about a total change of the constitution, instead of being amazed at the difficulties it met with, we shall be surprized, that they were so easily got over; especially if we reflect on the temper of the nation in general, and the great repugnance it must have had to some particular points in this treaty.

government, the seat of which must always remain fixed in England, and consequently all advantages accruing to Scotland for the future, must be drawn to, and centre there; the extirpating the French and Jacobite interest, where it was evidently strongest, introducing the Hanover succession, securing the Protestant interest, giving one turn of mind to all the people in the island, putting them under the same rulers, the same taxes, and the same prohibitions, so as to have but one political head, with a due subordination of members; these were considerations so high in themselves, and of such certainty in their consequences, that the bulk of the English nobility and gentry were no sooner acquainted with them, than they were convinced of their utility, and that it was not very easy to set the purchase at too high a rate; especially, when they considered the mischiefs to which they had been exposed in former times from the want of such an union. The ministry had a just foresight of this, and gave themselves, therefore, very little trouble about preparing their friends in England for the reception and execution of their scheme, because they knew, that whenever it was proposed and explained, it would make its own way; and their good sense, and right judgment in this management, were fully justified by the event.

The advantages proposed to Scotland, were the freeing that kingdom from all the grievances of which they had so long, and so justly complained; such as, that their interest always gave way to that of England; that their concerns abroad were sacrificed, instead of being protected; that, with equal prejudice to them, they were considered sometimes as subjects, but mostly as foreigners; that they were discouraged in carrying on their trade and manufactures; and, in fine, continually upbraided with their poverty, while it was made an invariable maxim of English policy, to keep them poor. By this union, it was proposed to make them one nation with the English, and to admit them to a full participation of their liberties, privileges, and commerce; as also to a share in the government and legislature, and a perpetual conjunction of interests at home and abroad; so that henceforward the government of the united kingdom would be equally in the hands of persons of both countries,

which

which would prevent partiality on the one side, and take away many hardships that had hitherto been felt on the other.

In short, it was insinuated, that, for the sake of peace and general security, the English were content to grant their neighbours, not only as good conditions as they could well expect, but even better than they could reasonably desire; and that, to obtain the friendship and assistance of Scotland, the people of England were desirous to bury in oblivion all their former prejudices, and to contribute, as far as lay in their power, to support and enrich the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and to treat them so favourably in point of taxes, as that they should have many and strong reasons to be very well pleased with the exchange of nominal prerogatives, for real and weighty advantages.

Such as opposed the union in Scotland, were either the friends of the Stuart family, or such as were, from neglect or disappointment, discontented under that administration. The former were in earnest concerned for the dignity and independency of the crown of Scotland, the honour of the nobility, and the welfare of the people, considered by them as a nation having interests separate from, and in some cases opposite to, those of the English. These men, upon their principles, heartily disliked the union, and had reason to dislike it². But as
for

² Bishop Burnet's reflections upon this subject, which he understood as well as any man, deserve the reader's notice and attention. "The treaty," says he, "being laid before the parliament in Scotland, met with great opposition there. It was visible, that the nobility of that kingdom suffered a great diminution by it; for, though it was agreed, that they should enjoy all the other privileges of the peers of England, yet the greatest of them all, which was the voting in the house of lords, was restrained to sixteen, to be elected by the rest, at every new parliament; yet there was a greater majority of the nobility that concurred in voting for the union, than in the other states of that kingdom. The commissioners for the shires and boroughs were almost equally divided, though it was evident, they were to be the chief gainers by it; among these, the union was agreed to, by a very small majority: it was the nobility that in every vote turned the scale for the union. They were severely reflected on by those who opposed it; it was said, many of them were bought off to sell their country, and their birthright. All those who adhered inflexibly to the Jacobite interest, opposed every step that was made, with great vehemence; for they saw, that the union struck at the root of all their views and designs for a new revolution; yet these could not have raised or maintained so great an opposition as was now made, if the Presbyterians

for the malecontents, they set up pretences of an odd, and extraordinary nature, and while they pretended zeal for the government, alledged, that Scotland would be prejudiced by the union; which, according to their principles, it was impossible to prove.

There was a third party in Scotland, which must be allowed by men of all principles, to have acted with great candour and uprightness. These were styled the Squadrone, and, if I might be allowed to translate the word into political English, I should call them Old Whigs. They had been very instrumental in the revolution, and were cordial friends to the government; but, from motives of state which I shall not take upon me to explain, had been turned out of their places, and ill enough treated during this reign. These men, however, remained firm to their principles, which led them to approve and promote the union; and they did it with great zeal. Their arguments were strong and conclusive, and made the greater impression, because they were disinterested. There was, as is usual in cases of the like nature, a good deal of corruption practised; but all this would never have carried the point, if it had not been abetted by the industry and zeal of these worthy men. The earl of Stair, who was not of their number, knew this, and therefore advised taking them, and the country party, into the commission for settling that important treaty; but his advice was followed by the ministers only in the latter part, which, though it amazed the world at that time, had however the effect he expected from it, and was one great cause that the affair succeeded so well as it did.

All things being thus settled, the queen, by her commission, dated at Kensington, the 27th of February, 1706, in virtue of powers granted to her by an act of parliament, passed in Scot-

“ byterians had not been possessed with a jealousy, that the consequence of
 “ this union would be the change of church-government among them, and that
 “ they would be swallowed up by the church of England. This took such root
 “ in many, that no assurances that were offered could remove their fears. It
 “ was infused into them, chiefly by the old duchess of Hamilton, who had
 “ great credit with them. And it was suggested, that she and her son had par-
 “ ticular views, as hoping, that if Scotland should continue a separate kingdom,
 “ the crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood after
 “ king James’s posterity.”

land,

land, appointed thirty commissioners on the part of Scotland, and on the 10th of April following, her majesty appointed as many English commissioners^b. This commission was opened at the Cockpit, on the 16th of April, 1706, William Cowper, Esq; then lord-keeper, delivering the sense of the English commissioners, and the earl of Seafield, lord high-chancellor of Scotland, acted in like manner on the part of their commissioners. On the first of May, the queen paid them a visit, and inquired into the progress they had madeⁱ.

About a month after, she did the same; and these instances of royal care had such an effect, that on the 22d of July, the commissioners signed and sealed the articles, which were presented to the queen the next day^k. By these articles, which were in number twenty-five, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, were united, under the title of GREAT BRITAIN; the Protestant succession settled; one parliament established; the common enjoyment of privileges and commerce stipulated; ships built in Scotland, admitted under the act of navigation; an equal distribution of customs and excises fixed; the duties upon salt regulated; the land-tax adjusted in the following proportion, *viz.* that when England paid 1,997,736 l. 8 s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Scotland should pay 48,000 l. and so in proportion; and, as an equivalent for Scotland's being charged with the debts of England, there was granted to the former by the latter, the sum of 398,085 l. 10 s. to be applied to the discharge of the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, the capital stock of the African and India company, with interest at 5 *per cent.* and for the improvement of manufactures and trade in that part of the island. It was also provided, that the monies and weights

^b Burnet's hist. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 446. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 375. See the journal of the proceedings of the noble and honourable persons who acted for both nations in the treaty of union, which began on the 16th of April, 1706, and was concluded on the 22d of July following, with the articles then agreed on in London, 1706. The queen's commissions to the lords commissioners of both kingdoms are prefixed thereto. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 232.

ⁱ Journal of the proceedings, &c. p. 22. The complete hist. of Europe, for 1706, p. 132. ^k Burnet's hist. of his own times, v. l. ii. p. 457. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 376. Journal of the proceedings, &c. p. 54, 55. The complete hist. of Europe, for 1706, p. 246. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4247.

of Scotland should be the same with those of England; the Scots courts of justice were preserved, together with all hereditary offices, and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the representative of Scotland was fixed at sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which though small in proportion to the English peers and commoners, yet was high in comparison of the share borne by Scotland in the taxes; the rights and privileges of the rest of the peers were fully secured; so that, except sitting in the house, they were to enjoy all the privileges of the peerage; and all the laws of either kingdom, inconsistent with the union, were declared null and void¹.

In the next session of parliament in Scotland, the union was carried, though not without great debates, and some protests. In England it went easier. In the house of commons, there was little or no opposition; there would have been a very warm one in the house of lords, but it was prevented by the wisdom of Sir Simon Harcourt, after viscount Harcourt, and lord-chancellor, who drew the act so, that it would admit of no debate, but upon the general question, whether it should, or should not pass^m.

It

¹ The advantages on the side of Scotland were such, as enabled those who supported the union, to say many strong things in its favour; for whereas, when England paid two millions by way of land-tax, Scotland was to pay but forty-eight thousand pounds, yet, in return for bearing a fortieth part of the expence, they had the eleventh part of the legislature given them; and the event has shewn, that the power of their members in a British parliament, is not so inconsiderable as the enemies of that treaty represented it to the parliament. There were, besides, some other strong motives which induced the better sort of the inhabitants of Scotland to wish well to the union. A great part of the gentry of that kingdom, who had been often in England, and observed the protection that all men had from a house of commons, and the security that it procured against partial judges and a violent ministry, entered into the design with great zeal. The opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, drew in those who understood those matters, and saw there was no other way to make the nation rich and considerable. Those also who had engaged deeply in the design of Darien, and were great losers by it, saw now an honourable way to be reimbursed; which made them wish well to the union, and promote it.

^m We have this fact from bishop Burnet, who lays it down in a very clear and satisfactory manner. "When all was agreed to, (says he), in both houses, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to enact it, which was prepared by Harcourt; with so particular a contrivance, that it cut off all debates. The
"preambles

It was carried in the house of commons by a majority of 274, against 160, and was carried up to the house of lords on the first of March, by the late earl of Wilmington, then Spencer Compton, Esq; passed in that house by a majority of 55, to 29, and on the sixth of March the queen came, and gave her royal assent; upon which occasion her majesty delivered herself thus:

“ I consider this union as a matter of the greatest importance,
 “ to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island;
 “ and at the same time as a work of so much difficulty and
 “ nicety in its own nature, that, till now, all attempts which
 “ have been made towards it, in the course of above one hun-
 “ dred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore, I make
 “ no doubt, but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter,
 “ to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bring-
 “ ing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire, and expect from
 “ all my subjects, of both nations, that from henceforth they
 “ act with all possible respect and kindness to one another,
 “ that so it may appear to all the world, they have hearts dis-
 “ posed to become one people; this will be a great pleasure to
 “ me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects
 “ of this union. And I cannot but look upon it as a particu-
 “ lar happiness, that in my reign, so full a provision is made
 “ for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the secu-

“ preamble was a recital of the articles, as they were passed in Scotland, toge-
 “ ther with the acts made in both parliaments, for the security of their several
 “ churches; and, in conclusion, there came one enacting clause, ratifying all.
 “ This put those upon great difficulties, who had resolved to object to several
 “ articles, and to insist on demanding some alterations in them; for they
 “ could not come to any debate about them; they could not object to the re-
 “ cital, it being but bare matter of fact; and they had not strength enough to
 “ oppose the general enacting clause, nor was it easy to come at particulars,
 “ and to offer provisos relating to them. The matter was carried on with such
 “ zeal, that it passed through the house of commons, before those, who in-
 “ tended to oppose it, had recovered themselves out of the surprise under
 “ which the form it was drawn in had put them. It did not stick long in the
 “ house of lords, for all the articles had been copiously debated there for se-
 “ veral days before the bill was sent up to them; and thus this great design,
 “ so long wished and laboured for in vain, was begun, and happily ended,
 “ within the compass of nine months. The union was to commence on the
 “ first of May, and till that time the two kingdoms were still distinct, and their
 “ two parliaments continued still to sit.”

“ rity of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the Protestant succession throughout Great Britain. Gentlemen of the house of commons; I take this occasion to remind you of making effectual provision for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland, within the time appointed by this act, and I am persuaded you will shew as much readiness in this particular, as you have done in all the parts of this great work.”

It is certain, that the passing the union was a mortal blow to the French; and it is no less certain, that the French did not exert themselves, as they might have done, to prevent it. Yet I am far from thinking with bishop Burnet^a, (though I esteem his account of the union very much), that this proceeded from an absolute inability, and that they did not, according to their common practice, try the influence of their gold, because they had it not; I say, I do not think this, because I apprehend I shall be able to shew the contrary. The true reason, then, in my judgment, why the French were so cool in this affair, was this; they thought that, though the union would destroy their interest in Scotland intirely, if it could be established, yet, that the suffering that law to pass, was the likeliest way for them to defeat it: for they depended upon a back game; and, looking upon it as a thing certain, that this would throw Scotland into the utmost confusion, they projected an invasion, not with any sincere intention of fixing the son of king James upon the throne of Scotland, but of making use of him to excite a civil war in that kingdom, which, they apprehended, would at least force England to consent to the dissolution of the union, in order to make the people of Scotland easy.

If this had not been their scheme, why did they afterwards attempt the invasion? If want of money had been the only reason for their not exerting their influence, how came they by the mighty sums of ready money, which that fruitless and foolish invasion cost them? I have now done with this affair of the union, and shall only add my opinion of it freely, which is, that both nations have been great gainers by it, and that neither have the least cause to complain of it. If, on the one

^a History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 462.

hand, the inhabitants of North Britain have not profited as much by it as they expected, it is their own fault; for, without industry and application to TRADE, it is impossible any nation should be great gainers by it; and, on the other, if the English repine at seeing so many of that nation in civil, military, and naval employments, they are blind to their own interests; for it is plain, that by acting in this manner, these men waste all their days in the service of England; whereas, if they applied themselves to commerce and manufactures, they might live happily in their own, and enjoy there the greatest freedom and independency.

The war had now continued long enough to make both sides very weary of it, and yet the French were not sufficiently humbled, to think of peace on the terms prescribed to them. On the contrary, they found means this campaign, to bring more troops into the field, than since the war began; which obliged the allies to make as formidable augmentations to oppose them. In short, as the maritime powers bore the largest share in the expence, and reaped the least immediate benefit from the continuance of the war, it was resolved to make the utmost efforts this year to put an end to it. With this view, the duke of Marlborough, and the English ministry, concerted several schemes for distressing the enemy on all sides, particularly in Spain, in Italy, and even in their own country; and this, especially, by the help of the great maritime power we then had in the Mediterranean°. It would lead us into frequent and unnecessary repetitions, if we should enter here into a copious detail of these projects, and therefore, to avoid such inconveniencies, we will speak of each in its turn, and, as near as may be, in the order of time in which they were undertaken.

° It is very surprising, that France, after such a series of misfortunes, should be able to make the figure that she did this year. The truth, however, seems to be, that the absolute power of her government, gave her great advantages over the allies. The emperor's consenting to the evacuation of Italy, without so much as consulting either Great Britain or Holland, was the great source of king Philip's success in Spain; and whoever considers attentively the French schemes for carrying on this campaign, will easily discern, that they must have met with the like success every where else, if it had not been for our expedition against Toulon. Quincy, *histoire militaire*, tome v. p. 271. *Memoires de la Terres*, tome v. p. 49. Limiers, tome iii. p. 230.

In respect to the war with Spain, an opinion began about this time to prevail in England, that it was neglected, chiefly because the ministry found it impracticable to push this, and the war in Flanders at the same time. The duke of Marlborough knowing how injurious this report was to his reputation, pressed the prosecution of the war in Spain this year, with the utmost spirit; the rather, because a great reinforcement of English and Dutch troops had been lately sent thither; and it was very well known, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel would neglect nothing that might contribute to the advancement of the service. The army under the command of the earl of Galway, was very early in the field, and promised great things; but whether his abilities were unequal to such a command, as some have suggested; or, as others alledge, king Charles ruined his own affairs, by marching back with a great body of troops into Catalonia; so it was, that about the middle of the month of April, that nobleman found himself under the dreadful necessity (at least as he imagined) of either starving, or fighting a superior army^p.

Accordingly, on the 14th of April, his lordship, with about sixteen thousand men, ventured to give battle to the duke of Berwick, who had twenty-four thousand, and of these near eight thousand horse and dragoons, that were very fine troops. The English and Dutch were at first victorious, and broke through the enemy twice; but the Portuguese, it is said, behaved very ill, or rather did not behave at all, which gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking the English and Dutch, of whom about ten thousand were killed or taken prisoners. The earl of Galway retired with the broken remains of his army, which, however, nothing could have saved, but the timely appearance of our fleet^q. Sir Cloudesley Shovel knowing the distress our army was in, through the want of almost every thing necessary, sent Sir George Byng, with a strong squadron, to the coast of Spain for their relief. Sir George sailed on the

^p This is a matter much too long for us to discuss, and therefore we mention in it terms not leaning to one side or the other.

^q See the complete hist. of Europe, for 1707. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 475. Oldmixon's hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 390. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 292. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4337.

thirtieth of March, and coming off Cape St. Vincent, on the fifteenth of April, he received there the news of our defeat^r.

He soon after received a message from lord Galway, acquainting him with the distress he was in, and desiring, that whatever he brought for the use of the army, might be carried to Tortosa, in Catalonia, to which place his lordship designed to retreat, and that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things that could be got together, should be put on board. Accordingly, he took care of the sick and wounded men, and sent them to Tortosa, where the lord Galway proposed to make a stand with the poor remains of the army. This service employed Sir George Byng almost the whole month of April, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, from Lisbon, either on that part of the coast of Spain, or at Barcelona, whither he was designed^s. Thus all the great things that were hoped for, from the augmentation of our forces in Spain, were absolutely disappointed; and this, chiefly, through the unaccountable mismanagement of that prince, for whose service all these expensive and hazardous expeditions were undertaken. Let us now turn our eyes to Italy, where we shall find a scene much of the same nature.

The first design that was formed upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy, is very positively said to have been concerted with the famous earl of Peterborough; but his royal highness, finding that nobleman had no longer any great credit at court, he changed the scheme entirely, and concerted by his ministers at London a new one, with the duke of Marlborough^t. This, to say the truth,

^r *Reflexions militaires et politiques de marquis de St. Cruz, tome xi. p. 163, 164.*

^s Burchet's naval history, b. v. chap. xxiv. *Complete hist. of Europe, for 1707. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4334.*

^t This is a very dark and perplexed affair; and, for any thing I can perceive, most of our historians are at a loss about it. The truth of the matter, to me, seems to be this. The duke of Savoy, and prince Eugene, first proposed attacking Toulon, to the earl of Peterborough, who thereupon wrote to his court about it. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough had proposed the same thing to count Masséu abroad, and afterwards concerted the whole scheme

truth, was the best design laid during the war, if we except the march into Germany, which had this advantage over it, that it was not only laid, but executed by the duke of Marlborough. The taking Toulon, if it could have been effected, would have destroyed for ever the maritime power of France; rendered her utterly incapable of carrying on any commerce with Spanish America, and have distressed her to such a degree at home, as must have produced an immediate peace, even upon worse terms than had been hitherto prescribed to her. All things were soon settled between us and the duke of Savoy; he could not undertake such an expedition without large supplies of money, and these we both promised and paid him: yet, even this would not have engaged him in so dangerous an attempt, if we had not given him the strongest assurances, that our fleet should constantly attend him; which we likewise very punctually fulfilled^u.

The first ill omen that appeared, was, the resolution taken by the emperor, at this juncture, when his forces in Italy should have been employed in promoting our design, to make with them the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In vain our ministers represented to his imperial majesty the mighty things we had done for him and his family; the great importance of the present undertaking to the common cause, and the certainty of his acquiring Naples without resistance after this expedition was over. In vain were the like applications from the Dutch; and in vain the earl of Manchester's journey, and the queen's letter to dissuade him from that ill-timed attempt, though written in the strongest terms, and all with her own hand. He alledged, that such assurances had been given to his friends in Naples, that something should be immediately done for their service, that it was impossible for him to desist,

scheme with that minister, and count Briançon at London. The duke of Savoy, however, did not think fit to acquaint the earl of Peterborough, that his project was laid aside; and this it was, if I conjecture right, that created all this confusion.

^u Complete history of Europe, for 1707, p. 125. It is from this period we are to date some part of the queen's ministry growing cold in the prosecution of the war, in which they suspected our allies had each their private interests in view, while they all concurred in loading us with expences.

and

and therefore, notwithstanding all these applications, count Daun had orders to march with 12,000 men, part of the troops that should have been employed in the expedition against Toulon, to invade that kingdom; which he accordingly performed *.

The duke of Savoy, notwithstanding this disappointment, continued, at least in all appearance, firm in his resolution, and it was resolved to prosecute this great design, with the assistance of the English fleet. Accordingly, Sir Cloudesley Shovel having joined Sir George Byng, near Alicant, sailed for the coast of Italy, and on the 5th of June, came to an anchor before Final, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-seven transports †. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the admiral; and soon after the fleet sailed for Nice, where, on the 29th of the same month, the admiral had the honour to entertain the duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, most of the general officers, together with the English and Dutch ministers, on board his own ship, the *Association* ‡.

After dinner, they held a council of war, and therein it was resolved to force a passage over the Var, in which hazardous enterprise the English admiral promised to assist. On the last of June, this daring attempt was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable; and so indeed they had proved, to

* Bishop Burnet, vol. ii. p. 476, 478, reflects upon this step taken by the emperor, very severely; and, I think, with great justice. But the emperor went yet further; for he sent such orders to prince Eugene, to avoid, on all occasions, exposing his troops that were to be employed in the Toulon expedition, as proved one great cause of the miscarriage of the allies when they came before that city.

† Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4343. *Coluzina rostrata*, p. 284. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xliii. p. 22.

‡ Sir Cloudesley Shovel, though he was not one of the politest officers we ever had, shewed a great deal of prudence and address, in the magnificent entertainment he made upon this occasion. The duke, when he came on board the *Association*, found a guard of halberdiers, in new liveries, at the great cabin-door. At the upper end of the table was set an armed chair, with a crimson velvet canopy. The table consisted of sixty covers, and every thing was so well managed, that his royal highness could not forbear saying to the admiral at dinner, "If your excellency had paid me a visit at Turin, I could scarce have treated you so well."

any forces in the world, except English seamen. The late gallant Sir John, then only captain, Norris, with some British, and one Dutch man of war, failed to the mouth of the river, and embarking six hundred seamen, and marines, in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musket-shot of the enemy's works, making such a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, astonished at an attack they never suspected, began to quit their intrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return².

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who followed Sir John Norris to the place of action, no sooner saw this confusion, than he ordered Sir John to land with the seamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with so much spirit, and Sir John and his seamen scampered over the works, the French thought inaccessible, so suddenly, that the enemy, struck with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The duke of Savoy immediately pursued this advantage, and in a single half hour passed that river, which, in the judgment of the best officers in his army, had, without this assistance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of his expedition².

On the 2d of July, his royal highness, and prince Eugene, with the British envoy, and Sir John Norris, dined again on board the admiral; and after dinner, they entered into a conference, wherein, upon mature deliberation, his royal highness was pleased to declare, that since the queen of Great Britain

² Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4352. Complete hist. of Europe, for 1709, p. 113, 114. *Memoires historiques et chronologiques*.

² It may not be amiss to cite, on this occasion, the words of the dispatch, received from the confederate camp, July 14, N. S. as they are printed in the Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4352. "The admiral himself followed Sir John Norris to the place of action, and observing the disorder of the enemy, commanded him to put to land, and flank them in their intrenchments. His men advanced in so undaunted a manner, that the enemy, fearing to be surrounded, marched out of their works, and retired with great precipitation. His royal highness having received from the admiral an account, that we were in possession of the enemy's works, ordered his troops to pass the river, which they did with so great eagerness, that above a hundred men were driven down by the violence of the stream, and ten of them drowned; which was all the loss we sustained, in forcing a pass, where we expected the most vigorous opposition."—Thus we see this whole affair was effected by English sailors.

He could, against the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was coming, with the title of admiral and commander in chief, from England. It may not be amiss to observe, that this year the enemy had a considerable force in the Mediterranean, which relieved their party in the island of Minorca, and did other services in those parts; but it was in a manner by stealth, and in the absence of our fleet, which, as the reader has seen, was then before Toulon. I shall conclude this subject, with observing, that how ill soever our affairs went in Spain, it was owing intirely to the disputes amongst our land-officers, and the mischiefs and miscarriages induced thereby: for, at sea, all things went well; our fleets and squadrons did all that could be expected from them, and it seemed to be our misfortune, that it was not in their power to do all that was to be done*.

If it had, we had certainly carried our point; and king Philip, notwithstanding all the great succours he received from his grandfather, had been obliged to quit his pretensions to Spain, and the Indies[†]. But, as bishop Burnet has shewn; the Austrian politics, at this juncture, fell in with the French; and yet we continued to serve that august house, not only at the expence of our interest, but, as it were, in spite of their teeth[‡].

Before

* Complete history of Europe, for 1707. Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, &c.

† It is true, many, indeed most of the ancient nobility, adhered steadily to king Philip; but still, partly from the misunderstanding between the kingdoms and principalities which compose the Spanish monarchy, the feuds amongst the grandees, and the insinuations of some politicians, that as they became Bourbonites only, to prevent the dismembering the dominions of their crown, they might turn Austrians again if they found this the only way of compassing this end; there was a strong party for king Charles III. who, by the assistance of the maritime powers, might have been placed and kept upon the throne, at least for a considerable time.

‡ As this is a very extraordinary assertion, I think myself obliged to cite bishop Burnet's own words. "The court of France, finding they could not prevail on the king of Sweden, made a public application to the Pope for his mediating a peace. They offered the dominions in Italy to king Charles; to the states, a barrier in the Netherlands, and a compensation to the duke of Savoy, for the waste made in his country; provided that, on those conditions, king Philip should keep Spain, and the West Indies. It was thought

Before I return to the consideration of affairs nearer home, it will be proper to say something as to a secret treaty between the queen of Great Britain, and king Charles III. of Spain, because that was the real source of some very great events which afterwards happened, though there is very little mention made of this treaty in any of our histories. Mr. Stanhope, afterwards earl Stanhope, and a great minister here, then managed her majesty's affairs with king Charles. He, representing the zeal with which Great Britain had always supported his Catholic majesty, and the immense expence she had been at, in order to establish him on the throne of his ancestors, prevailed on him, partly out of gratitude, and partly from a sense of the necessity he lay under of depending still on our protection, to conclude secretly a treaty of commerce, extremely favourable for the subjects of Britain, and which, in case that prince had been firmly established on the throne of Spain, must quickly have reimbursed the nation all she had laid out for the service of his Catholic Majesty.

By it, the English alone were intrusted with the Barbary trade, and were to import into all the maritime places in Spain, such kind of goods from thence as should appear to them proper, and without paying any higher duty, than if those goods were actually the growth and merchandize of Great Britain. The English merchants residing in Spain, were to give security for their duties, and were to pay them six months after the goods were landed and sold. A new book of rates was to be established, by English and Spanish commissioners, which was not to be altered, and all merchandizes that were omitted therein, were to pay seven *per cent ad valorem*, according to the invoice. These advantages were in themselves very great; but there were still greater secured by a separate article, in which it was mutually agreed, that the whole commerce of the Spanish West Indies should be carried on by a joint company of Spanish and British merchants: but because this could not be

"the court of Vienna wished this project might be entertained; but the other
 "allies were so disgusted at it, that they made no steps towards it. The court
 "of Vienna did what they could to confound the designs of this campaign, for
 "they ordered a detachment of twelve thousand men to march from the army
 "into Lombardy, to the kingdom of Naples, &c."

immediately

immediately carried into execution, since Spain and the Indies were then in the hands of king Philip, it was further stipulated, (as far as king Charles could consent), that her Britannic majesty should, for the present, trade freely in all the ports of the West Indies, with ten ships, each of the burden of five hundred tons, under the escort of as many ships of war as her majesty should think proper. France was to be for ever excluded from this commerce; and if, at any time afterwards, either of the contracting parties should depart from this agreement, then they were to forfeit all the advantages granted them by this treaty; which was signed the tenth of July, 1707, by the ministers of his Catholic majesty, and Mr. Stanhope^w.

The person who was intrusted to carry this important treaty to London, embarked, for the greater expedition, on board a small vessel bound for Genoa, which vessel was unluckily taken by a French privateer. The express, as is usual in such cases, threw his mail overboard; but the French captain promising a considerable reward, in case it could be recovered, a negro slave undertook to dive, and bring it up; which he performed, and it was immediately transmitted to the marquis de Torci, the French king's minister for foreign affairs, who took care to send a copy of it, very speedily, to the Hague, where it made a great impression on the states-general, though they did not

^w Some people have affected to doubt, whether there ever was such a treaty as this; but that was only at a time when there was a necessity of keeping it secret. Doctor Swift, who wrote the conduct of the allies, and who had as good lights as any writer of that time, says a little disingeniously. "Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we have already made a treaty with king Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain: but, whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it. I mean that of the barrier, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland." Swift's miscellanies, vol. iii. p. 3. The observation I would make, is, that the fact here laid down, is by no means true; the barrier treaty, and this with Spain, could not be carried on together, since the one was signed the 10th of July, 1707, and the other on the 9th of October, 1709. As to the treaty itself, the inquisitive reader may, if he pleases, consult Lamberti, vol. iv. p. 592.

think fit to complain of it, but contented themselves with giving, as far as they were able, such a turn to the war, as might render it beneficial to themselves; and ever after assisted his Catholic majesty but coolly, and no farther than they were obliged by treaty.

It was afterwards converted into a reason for concluding a negotiation, very favourable to their trade, with the Dutch, wherein, amongst other things, it was agreed, that, whatever advantages we should obtain from Spain, the Dutch should enjoy the like; which treaty, if it was ever intended should be fairly executed, would have been very injurious to us, since, while we bore the whole burden of the war, it would have taken from us all hopes of recompence after a peace, since to share the Spanish trade with the Dutch by treaty, was very little better than agreeing to give it up to them in a short space of time^x.

This secret negotiation had still farther consequences, since it gave the French an opportunity of suggesting, in a separate treaty, that article upon which the South-Sea company is founded, and without the assistance of which, the intelligent part of mankind know very well the peace of Utrecht could never have been made, or the public debts brought into that situation in which we now find them^y. From these remarks on secret treaties, let us return now to the open operations of the war.

At the time that our fleets were every where superior to those of the enemy, our trade suffered in almost all parts of the world, by their small squadrons of men of war, as well as pri-

^x I have here attempted to explain the matter, as it appears to me, fairly, and naturally, by making part of the barrier treaty a consequence of the Dutch being acquainted with our secret treaty; though, perhaps, at the negotiation of the barrier treaty, it might not be mentioned in direct terms. For the affairs of our ministry began then to be pretty much perplexed, and the natural consequence was, the considering their own support, more than the interest of the nation; which is the case with every declining ministry, and has been more fatal to us, than all the efforts of our enemies.

^y In my last note, I have a little digressed in point of time, and therefore I must refer the reader for the verification of this fact, to what I shall be obliged hereafter to say, in respect to the causes and consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, in which I shall take particular notice of this article.

rateers. This, though it fell heavily upon us, was a plain proof of the weakness of the French power; since it never can be conceived, that so haughty a prince as Lewis XIV. would have stooped to this piratical way of carrying on the war, if he could have maintained it in a manner more honourable^a.

Sir Thomas Hardy, who had commanded a squadron in the Soundings a year before, and who had this year been employed on the coast of Ireland, to protect the East India fleet, was, in the beginning of the month of July, ordered to escort the Lisbon trade. Sir Thomas, pursuant to this order, sailed with the squadron under his command, and the outward-bound merchant-men. But being several times forced back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of August, 1707, before they got ninety-three leagues off the Lizard. About half an hour after two that afternoon, captain Kirktown, in the *Defiance*, who was in the rear of the fleet, made the signal of seeing six sail, which being also seen about three, right a-tern from the mast-head of the *Kent*, Sir Thomas Hardy brought to for the rear, that were a great way off, and spread very much, to come up with the body of the fleet, consisting in all of above two hundred sail^a.

Between

^a This conduct of the French king, in the situation his affairs were then in, we must allow to be extremely prudent. He found, that sitting out great fleets was an expence he could not bear; that the allies were too strong for him at sea, and therefore it was requisite to employ ships in some other method, for his own service, and his subjects advantage, which put him upon lending his men of war to such merchants as were willing to fit them out for privateers; and the squadrons of *Forbia*, and *Guai Trouin*, were equipped on this account.

^a Sir Thomas's orders were dated the 2d of July, 1707, and by them he was directed to convoy all the outward-bound ships that were ready to sail, and see them safe about 120 leagues beyond the Land's-end, and then to detach with them some men of war, under the command of captain Kirktown; and himself, with the rest of the ships under his command, to cruize in such station, or stations, as should be thought (upon advising with the several captains with him) the most proper for meeting with, and protecting the homeward-bound Lisbon trade. This order further directed, that in case Sir Thomas Hardy should, in his passage from Spithead into the Soundings, get sight of the squadron of French ships, (which had been lately seen off the Lizard), he was forthwith to detach captain Kirktown from him on his voyage to Lisbon, as before

Between three and four o'clock, Sir Thomas Hardy perceiving, that the six sail came up with him a-pace, notwithstanding it was little wind, and thereby judging they might be seekers, made the signal for the ships that were to continue with him, to chase to windward, and also chased himself with them, both to prevent these six sail from taking some of the heavy failers, and to try to come up with them, in case they were enemies. About five, the six sail were seen from the Kent's deck, making all the sail they could before the wind after the fleet. Soon after they shortened sail, and brought to, to speak with one another; whereupon, Sir Thomas Hardy believing them to be the French squadron, mentioned in his orders, made the signal for the Lisbon fleet to part, whilst he, with his own squadron, continued to chase to windward the enemy, who had formed themselves in a line of battle. About six, the six sail bore away, and stood to the eastward of him, and he, with his squadron, tacked after them, and continued the chase till near seven o'clock; but then considering that it was almost night, that the six sail were then hauled to, and almost in the wind's eye, he saw no probability of coming up with, or keeping sight of them, it being little wind; and, therefore, he made the signal for the captains with him, to advise with them according to his orders. The result of this consultation (which was signed by fourteen captains) was, that Sir Thomas Hardy should leave off chase; and, lest the enemy, supposed to be Guai Trouin's squadron, of whose strength he was informed by a letter from the admiralty, dated the 8th of July, 1707, should pass by him in the night, and fall upon the trade, which could not be protected by the convoys directed to be left with them; all the captains unanimously agreed, that it was for her majesty's service, to bear away, and keep company with the Lisbon fleet, till they got 120 leagues at least from the Land's-end, according to his royal highness's order.

Sir Thomas Hardy complied with their advice, and saw all the fleet safe as far as he was directed. But, upon the com-

fore directed; and he, with the rest of the ships under his command, to give chase to, and use his utmost endeavours to come up with, and take and destroy the said ships of the enemy; but if he found that he could not come up with them, he was to retire in the soundings, as before directed,

plaint

plaint of some merchants, surmising that Sir Thomas Hardy had not chased the six sail of French men of war, a court-martial was ordered to examine his conduct therein. This court, having sifted every circumstance of this affair, and heard the principal officers of the squadron upon their oaths, declared their opinion to be, that Sir Thomas Hardy had complied with his royal highness the lord high-admiral's orders, both with regard to the chasing the enemy, and also the protecting the trade; and accordingly, the court did acquit the said Sir Thomas Hardy, from the charge brought against him. There never was, perhaps, a more just sentence than this, or pronounced upon fuller evidence, and yet Sir Thomas Hardy had his conduct canvassed afterwards in every place where it was possible to call it in question; which, in spite of all the prejudices that prevailed at that time, turned very much to his advantage; for he not only escaped all censure, but continued to be employed, and acquired greater honour from the clearing up this charge, than he could have done by barely convoying the fleet, if no such accident had happened^b.

Towards the latter end of April, a large fleet of ships bound for Portugal, and the West Indies, and making in all a fleet of fifty-five sail, had a convoy appointed them, consisting of three men of war, the Royal Oak, of 76 guns, captain Baron

^b The president of this council of war, was Sir John Leake, Knt. vice admiral of the white. It was held on board her majesty's ship the Albemarle, October 10, 1707, in Portsmouth harbour; and the captains who, with the president, signed his acquittal, were, Hovenden Walker, Henry Lumley, Stephen Martin, T. Meads, Henry Gore, Charles Stewart, J. Paul. After this, the proceedings were laid before the queen in council, where all was heard over again, but nothing appeared which could any way impeach the honour of Sir Thomas Hardy, or the officers who acquitted him; however, to oblige the merchants, the sentence was transmitted to the admiralty, and there it was examined before his royal highness the lord high-admiral, and the following flag-officers, admiral Churchill, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir Geo. Byng, Sir John Norris, and Sir James Wifhart, who all approved the sentence of the court-martial, and gave their opinion under their hands. One would have imagined, that here the thing must have ended, but it did not; for as soon as the house of commons sat, a motion was made, that Sir Thomas Hardy should attend; which he did, and gave so clear an account of his conduct, that the very members who had promised to support the complaint, desired it might be dismissed.

Wylde, commander and commodore; the Grafton, of 70 guns; captain Edward Acton; the Hampton-Court, of 70 guns, captain George Clements. They sailed on the first of May, from the Downs, and fell in, on the second, with the Dunkirk squadron, commanded by M. Forbin, consisting of ten men of war; a frigate; and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely two hours and a half; but then, captain Acton being killed, and his ship taken; and the Hampton-Court soon sharing the same fate, after having sunk the Salisbury, then in the hands of the French, by her side; the commodore thought proper to shift for himself as well as he could, which it was not very easy for him to do, as he was immediately attacked by three of the largest French men of war, and had eleven feet water in his hold. He disengaged himself, notwithstanding, and with great difficulty ran on shore near Dungenesse, from whence he soon got off, and brought his ship into the Downs. But while the men of war were thus engaged, the lightest of the enemy's frigates, and their privateers, took one and twenty of our merchant-ships, and carried them, with the two men of war, into Dunkirk.

The most extraordinary thing that happened in this engagement; was the conduct of a midshipman, on board the Hampton-Court, who, while the enemy were employed in plundering the ship, conveyed captain Clements, who was mortally wounded in the belly, into the long-boat, into which himself, and seven of the sailors crept through the port-holes, and concealed themselves, as well as they could, under the thouls. The enemy, in the mean time, driving with the flood, when they thought themselves at a sufficient distance, they fell to their oars, and had the good fortune to get into Rye harbour on the third of May^c. This affair made a very great noise, the merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the admiralty to have acquainted commodore Wylde, that the Dunkirk squadron was at sea; which, in all pro-

^c See the Lond. Gaz. N^o. 43:6. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome xlii. p. 653, 654.

bability,

bability, might have enabled him to have escaped this misfortune^d.

The French, according to their usual custom, magnified this success of theirs excessively; for they asserted, that besides the three men of war, there was a frigate of forty guns sent to strengthen the convoy, and that the fleet of merchant-men consisted of fourscore sail, of which they took twenty-two, and made 1200 prisoners. In Forbin's memoirs, we have some very extraordinary circumstances; such as, that he engaged the commodore himself, and killed him with a musket-shot through a port-hole, while he was giving his orders sword in hand, between decks, and afterwards made himself master of his ship; in which, as we have seen, there is not one word of truth: and all that can be said in excuse of the French relation is, that Mr. Forbin mistook the Hampton-Court for the commodore.

All the French relations, however, do us the justice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory cost them very dear. The French king, as soon as he had advice of this engagement, promoted M. Forbin to the rank of chef d'escadre, and gave him likewise the title of count^e, which he soon after merited by an extraordinary exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

The Russian fleet being this year very numerous, and very richly laden, Sir Benjamin Ayloff, being then governor, and

^d These facts depend upon the representations made by the merchants to parliament, in the ensuing session, and the answer to that representation, by the council of the lord high-admiral, in his royal highness's name. It is, I think, not a little improbable, that the admiralty should have any treacherous design; but there is nothing more likely, than that some under officers of that board, might send copies of letters, orders for convoys, and such like papers, at the hazard of their necks; as the very same year Gregg did from the secretary's office, for which he suffered at Tyburn, and people very unjustly aspersed his master.

^e *Histoire militaire*, tome v. p. 68. P. Daniel, p. 244. Forbin's memoirs. In some of these relations, the number of prisoners is computed at 1100, and the value of the prizes at 5,000,000 livres, that is about 250,000l. Sterling; which is a little incredible, considering they took so few ships; but, as the French had nothing to console them for their mighty losses, but these little advantages at sea, we need not at all wonder, that they took so much pains to magnify them.

some other principal merchants, applied themselves to the admiralty, in order to know what convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the apprehensions they were under, from the *Dankirk* squadron; they were told, that they should have one fourth, and two fifth-rates, with which they were very much dissatisfied. To make them in some measure easy, Sir William Whetstone had orders to convoy them beyond the islands of *Shetland*. Accordingly the fleet, consisting of about fifty merchant-men, sailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his instructions directed, by admiral Whetstone, who left them about three weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their voyage, under their proper convoy.

Some time after captain Haddock, who commanded, made a signal of his seeing eleven sail of the enemy's ships, which some of the fleet not regarding, but trusting to their good sailing, fifteen of them fell into the enemy's hand, off the island of *Kildine*, on the coast of *Lapland*, on the 11th of July; and the rest of the fleet, consisting of about forty ships, with their convoy of three men of war, by the favour of a hard gale, and a thick fog, got into *Archangels*. The accounts we have of this affair are remarkably dark and embarrassed, which were calculated, probably, to justify the conduct of the prince's council, and admiral Whetstone, who were much complained of; but the French accounts are clearer, though a little exaggerated.

f Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4357. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 571. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome alfix. p. 330.

g One captain Nenyon, commander of the ship *Nenyon* and *Benjamin*, made oath before the house of lords, that, on or about the 9th of July, 1707, his ship, with eleven or twelve others, were unfortunately taken in their voyage to *Archangel*, by the chevalier *Forbin*'s squadron, consisting of seven French ships of war; that his ship was the first taken, and he was immediately carried on board *Forbin*, who demanded of him, what number of ships for convoy the English, bound for *Archangel*, had with them. He answered, twelve sail: to which *Forbin* replied, he spake what was false; for there were only three ships of war, convoy to the English fleet: *Forbin* then declaring, that he knew admiral Whetstone, with his squadron, came no farther than the isle of *Shetland*, and then returned back again. This made a great noise, and the more so, because admiral Whetstone was a man not beloved, and people were very desirous of fixing an imputation upon him, in order to get him laid aside; but it does not appear, that in this instance they carried their point.

According

According to them, M. Forbin failed again from Dunkirk, on the last of May, with the same squadron; and on the 11th of July, perceiving the English fleet, he immediately fell in with them, took nineteen sail; but being too far from any port of France, to think of carrying them in with safety, he first unloaded, and then burnt them. In the memoirs which go under his name, the matter is carried still farther; for he asserts, that he took twenty, of which he burnt fifteen: that, afterwards, he took four more, and when they got into the harbour of Kildine, he likewise took four, and burnt eighteen; but he agrees, that soon after he destroyed all his prizes, and computes the value of the goods he preserved to 1,200,000 livres.

I suspect there is some confusion and mistake in these accounts, because I find, that on the first of August following, he destroyed the Dutch homeward-bound fleet from Archangel; and as father Daniel computes the ships taken, and burnt, in both enterprizes, at forty sail, I am inclined to think him nearer the truth than any of the rest^b. On the return of the Dunkirk squadron, count Forbin received orders to join that which had been fitted out from Brest, under the command of M. du Guai Trouin, which he accordingly did, on the 8th of October.

In the latter end of August, there was a great fleet ready for Lisbon, having on board provisions, military stores, and upwards of a thousand horses, for the king of Portugal's service. The merchants were extremely uneasy on the head of a convoy. They observed, that so many ships had been taken in performing the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the Portuguese to send their orders for corn even against their will into Holland; for this reason, they earnestly insisted, that

^b Histoire militaire, tome v. p. 467. (P. Daniel, p. 245. During the whole war, the maritime powers suffered excessively, in the Baltic, where, almost every year, the Dunkirk squadron made many prizes; and this, at last, determined the Dutch to keep a constant force in those seas, as long as the weather would permit, rightly judging, that no expence could be too great for the protection of their trade, and preserving their reputation as a maritime power.

such a convoy might be given them, upon this occasion, as might effectually secure so great a fleet, (for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchant-men), and thereby recover our credit at Lisbon; and, in consequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great measure diverted into other hands for the two last years.

These representations were by no means pleasing to the admiralty, where admiral Churchill, the duke of Marlborough's brother, commonly expressed the sense of his royal highness's council, and thereby drew on himself the merchants displeasure in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and as strong a convoy as could possibly be provided for them; yet it so fell out, that it was the 24th of September before this convoy was ready to sail. It consisted of the Cumberland, captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of the same force; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, each of fifty guns. But, to say the truth, the Chester and Ruby were, properly speaking, the convoy; for the other three ships were only to see the ships fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not fail till the 9th of October, and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of count Forbin and M. du Guai Trouin, off the Lizard^k.

The French were at least twelve sail of line-of-battle ships. The convoy disposed themselves in a line, and thereby gave the merchant ships an opportunity of escaping. M. du Guai attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; the Devonshire defended herself, for a long time, against seven, and till evening against five French ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men, escaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous resistance, and having set the French ship which attacked her, and was commanded by M. de

ⁱ History of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 435. At this period the merchants were at open war with the admiralty; and as some admirals were disliked, and some of his royal highness's council naturally morose, there never wanted fuel enough for popular clamour.

^k Mercure hist. et politique, tome xliii. p. 556, 557.

Bearnois, on fire, got safe into Kingsale harbour; the count de Forbin took the Chester, and messieurs de Courserat and de Nesmond took the Ruby. As for the Lisbon fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boasting of the men of war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal, and though in effect the convoy did all that could be expected from them, by securing the merchants at their own expence¹.

It is certain, that misfortunes like these are great enough in themselves; and, therefore, there is no need of exaggerating them, either at the time they happen, or in such works as are written on subjects which oblige their authors to transmit accounts of them to posterity. Yet, something of this sort there seems to be, in the following passage from bishop Burnet^m, which I transcribe in his own words, and at large, that I may not be suspected of partiality. “ A convoy of five ships of the
“ line of battle, was sent to Bortugal, to guard a great fleet of
“ merchant ships, and they were ordered to sail, as if it had
“ been by concert, at a time when a squadron from Dunkirk
“ had joined another from Brest, and lay in the way waiting
“ for them. Some advertisements were brought to the admiral-
“ ralty of this conjunction; but they were not believed. When
“ the French set upon them, the convoy did their part very
“ gallantly, though the enemy were three to one; one of the
“ ships was blown up, three of them were taken, so that only
“ one of them escaped, much shattered. But they had fought
“ so long, that most of the merchant-men had time to get

¹ See the history of Europe, for the year 1707. Columns rostrata, p. 283. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 573. London Gazette, N^o. 4380. Also N^o. 4381, where, in an article from Lisbon, dated October 31. N. S. it is said, “ Twenty sail of British merchant-men are already in this port, and
“ as many more appear coming in at the bar, all belonging to the fleet under
“ the late convoy of commodore Edwards, they attribute their safety to the
“ bravery of their convoy, and particularly of the Devonshire, which main-
“ tained a running fight, against five men of war, till the dusk of the evening,
“ by favour of which, most of the transports and trading ships made their
“ escape. There are already come in about six hundred of the horse designed
“ for the service of his Portuguese majesty.”

^m History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 488.

"away, and failed on, not being pursued, and so got safe to Lisbon."

In order to demonstrate the absolute injustice of this suggestion, I shall only observe, that it appears from all the French writers, that the junction of the Dunkirk and Brest Squadrons happened in the afternoon of the 8th; that the Lisbon fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 9th, and that the engagement happened on the 10th, before noon; so that any intelligence could be given to the admiralty, of the junction of the French squadrons, time enough to have prevented this unlucky accident, is a thing, that, to every candid reader, even at this distance of time, must appear perfectly incredible^a.

But, in the midst of so many discouragements, the nation was not altogether deprived of good fortune, even in respect to these little disputes; for at the very close of the year, captain Haddock, in her majesty's ship the *Ludlow-Castle*, got sight, off the long sand, of two frigates, which proved to be the *Nightingale* and *Squirrel*, formerly her majesty's ships, but taken by the French, and now fitted out from Dunkirk, as privateers, and each of them having as many men as the *Ludlow-Castle*. They both lay by, till he came within gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven at night, he came up with the *Nightingale*, and took her, and as soon as the captain of the *Squirrel* perceived it, he crowded sail and stood away. The captain of the *Nightingale* was one Thomas Smith, who had formerly commanded a sloop in her majesty's service, and was broke at a court-martial for irregular practices: captain Haddock, who died lately an admiral, and who commanded the squadron in the Mediterranean, immediately before the last war, carried in his prize to Hull, from whence he thought fit to send up all the English who were on board the *Nightingale*, viz. captain Thomas Smith, who commanded the ship; Charles Aislaby, lieutenant; Mr. Harwood, who acted as a midship-man; an Irish priest, and an English sailor, who were immediately com-

^a The marquis de Quincy, father Daniel, and M. Forbin, in his memoirs, all agree as to these dates; so that it is impossible they should be wrong; and it is, consequently, as impossible that our prelate's suspicion should be right.

mitted close prisoners for high treason, and a prosecution, by the attorney-general, directed against them^o.

About the same time, arrived the welcome news of our success in Newfoundland, where captain John Underdown, commander of her majesty's ship the Falkland, having received advice on the 25th of July, that the enemy had many ships employed in the fishery, in several harbours to the northward, our commanders of ships, merchants, and inhabitants, petitioned him to endeavour the destroying of them, and by that means to encourage and protect the British trade in those places. In pursuance of which representations, on the 26th of July, captain Underdown set sail from St. John's, having taken major Lloyd, who desired to be employed in the expedition, with twenty of his company, on board the Falkland, and twenty more of the same company, on board the Nonsuch. On the 27th, they came before Bonavis, and finding there no appearance of an enemy, the commodore ordered captain Hughes upon that station, to sail with him.

On the 2d of August, they stood into the bay of Blanche, till they came off Fleur-de-lis harbour. Major Lloyd was immediately sent into the harbour in the commodore's pinnace, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in the pinnace belonging to the Nonsuch, in order to make what discoveries they were able. They found there were several stages, and other necessaries for the fishery, to which they set fire, and afterwards they returned without any loss sustained, on board the men of war. By six the next morning they doubled the cape, and saw a ship, which, upon the brisk exchange of a few shot, struck; the commodore sent his boats aboard, and found her to be from St. Malo's, carrying about three hundred and sixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called the Duke of Orleans. In another arm of the bay, named Equillette, was ano-

^o The making examples of these sort of men, is a thing of absolute necessity in time of war; and I very much doubt, whether it is not a false kind of pity, ever to let them escape. This Smith, and one captain Rigby, who fled from hence for an infamous crime, did us prodigious mischief, by their serving the French during that war; and yet, when Rigby was taken, he was suffered to get away.

ther large ship; but the place being rocky, and the water shallow, it was impossible for either the Falkland or Nonsuch to come near her; whereupon, the Medway's prize was ordered to go as close in as she could, with safety; and, at the same time, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in boats well manned and armed, were directed to land upon the island under which she lay. This was executed with so good effect, that the enemy, after having fired several broadsides, being no longer able to keep the deck, against our small shot from the shore, struck. This ship was of the force of twenty guns, and fourscore men, belonging also to St. Malo. Having here received information, that about three leagues to the northward, in La Couche, there were two ships, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-six, both of St. Malo; the commodore gave captain Hughes directions to burn the last prize, and afterwards to join him at La Couche, himself in the Falkland, with the Nonsuch, making the best of their way thither.

The fifth, in the afternoon, they came into La Couche, where they found the two ships in readiness for sailing. The enemy fired several broadsides at them, which, as soon as our men of war returned, they set their ships on fire, and left them, going over to the next harbour, called Carouse, in which, the commodore had received intelligence, there were four ships. He immediately weighed, and stood for that harbour, and about eight o'clock at night was joined by the Medway's prize; but there being very little wind at S. W. and much difficulty in getting out, it was about six the next morning before he got off the harbour's mouth. The commodore sent in his boat, but found the enemy had escaped, having by the advantage of little wind, and the great number of men and boats, cut and towed out. The British ships stood to the northward, and saw several vessels, to which they gave chase; about five in the afternoon they came off the harbour of St. Julian, where they discovered a ship, and having lost sight of the vessels they had pursued, stood in for the harbour, and came to an anchor in twenty-six fathom water. The place where the ship was hauled in, being very narrow and shoally, the commodore ordered the Medway's prize to go as near as possibly she could. The
enemy

enemy fired two guns, but it was not thought fit to attack her till the morning. Accordingly, the sixth of August, at four of the clock, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and lieutenant Eagle, went in, with all their boats well manned and armed, and immediately landing, drove the enemy from their posts, who were likewise on shore. Our men took their boats, and went aboard their ship, where they found the enemy had laid several trains of powder, in order to blow her up; which being seasonably discovered, she was preserved, and by noon they towed her out to sea. But the British pilots being unacquainted with the coast, and the commodore thinking it not proper to go farther to the northward, it was resolved to sail back to Caroufe, and there remain till they were joined by the duke of Orleans' prize, which was left at Grand Canarie, with a lieutenant and sixty men.

In the way to Caroufe, it was thought fit to look into Petit Maistre, where they destroyed great numbers of boats and stages, with vast quantities of fish and oil; about seven at night, they came to an anchor in Caroufe harbour, and moored. On the 12th and 13th, it blew a hard gale at S. W. Having destroyed the fishery at Petit Maistre, and the duke of Orleans' prize being come to La Couche, on the 14th, by four in the morning, they weighed and stood out to sea, taking her with them, and steered for St. John's harbour, where the Falkland and Nonsuch, with the two prizes, arrived the 17th of the same month, having before given the Medway's prize orders to sail to Trinity P.

We ought now, according to the method that has been generally observed, to speak of the proceedings in the West Indies; but, as what was done there this year, is so strictly connected with what happened in the following, that it is scarce possible to divide them, without destroying the perspi-

P The damage the enemy received, was as follows. Two ships taken, one of thirty guns, and 110 men; and another of twenty guns, and 100 men; one ship taken and burnt, of twenty guns, and eighty men. Two ships burnt by the enemy, one of 32, and another of 26 guns; 228 fishing boats burnt; 470 boats and shallops, that were not employed in the fishery this season, burnt; 23 stages burnt; 23 train vats burnt; 77,280 quintals of fish destroyed; 1568 hogheads of train oil destroyed.

cuity of both relations ; I shall defer saying any thing of the events that fell out in that part of the world, till I come to speak of them in their proper place ; that is, after having accounted for the naval proceedings in the succeeding year. I the rather incline to make this small breach in my usual method, because I am under a necessity of speaking more largely than in other places, of what was done in parliament this year, in reference to the navy, for this weighty reason, viz. that the strict inquiries made by both houses into matters of such consequence, not only demonstrate the vigour of our constitution at that time, but afford, perhaps, the very best precedents for reviving such inquiries, that are to be met with in our history.

The first parliament of GREAT BRITAIN, met upon the 23d of October, when the eyes not only of this kingdom, but of all Europe, were fixed upon them. The earliest thing they did was, to make choice of John Smith, Esq; for their speaker ; and the next, in the house of commons, was, to vote an address of thanks to the queen, for her most gracious speech made to them on the sixth of November, to which day they had adjourned^a. In the house of lords it went otherwise ; instead of their usual address, their lordships proceeded to a direct consideration of the state of the kingdom, in which very warm debates arose, in regard to the navy especially. As to this, it was affirmed, “ That the lord high-admiral’s name was
“ abused by such as were intrusted with the management of
“ his authority ; that the council of his royal highness studied
“ nothing but how to render their places profitable to them-
“ selves and their creatures, though at the expence of the na-
“ tion ; that it was visible, their own haughtiness, together
“ with the treachery, corruption, and carelessness of their de-
“ pendants, were the true sources of those mischiefs which be-
“ fel our merchants, and discredited the most glorious reign
“ in the British annals. But, though reason and experience
“ ought to have convinced these men of their own incapacity,
“ yet they had, with a brutish obstinacy, persisted in the pur-

^a Oldmixon’s history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 394. Boyer’s life of queen Anne, p. 308. The complete hist. of Europe, for 1707, p. 395.

“ suit

“ suit of their own measures, haughtily rejecting the advice of
 “ the merchants, when offered in time, and saucily contemning
 “ their complaints, when sufferers by the very errors they had
 “ predicted.”

This produced the appointing of a committee, in which this matter might be resumed, upon the 19th of December; at which her majesty was present. The sheriffs of London, who were Benjamin Green, Esq; and Sir Charles Peers, Knt. presented a petition, signed by two hundred of the most eminent merchants of the city of London, setting forth the great losses they had lately sustained at sea, for want of convoys and cruizers; and praying, that some remedy might be speedily applied, that the trade of the nation might not be entirely destroyed.

The house went as heartily into this matter as the sufferers could desire, and appointed the 26th to hear the merchants further, in a grand committee, where they were permitted to make a regular charge, and encouraged to exhibit their evidence. In the course of this inquiry, it fully appeared to their lordships, that many ships of war were not fitted out to sea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay. That convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants, and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets, were put to great charges, and, where they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruizers were not ordered to proper stations in the channel; and, when convoys were appointed, and ready to put to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them till the enemies privateer squadrons were laid in their way, and with superior force prepared to fall on them; which had often happened.

^r Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 489. Oldmixon. Annals of queen Anne. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 180—183.

^s It is easy to discern, from the scope of this petition, and the support it met with, that public spirit flourished during this reign. It was not pretended, that any respect due to the crown should protect such as were bad servants; or, that attacking them, was offending majesty. It was not said, that exposing them reflected on his royal highness, or that in a time of war we ought to be silent on such subjects; but it was said, produce your facts, make good the charge, and we will procure you justice.

Many advertisements, by which these misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty; but had not only been neglected by them, but those who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. To carry these things as far as possible, they caused an exact report to be drawn of their proceedings; sent it to the admiralty-office; received the best answer that could be given from thence; heard the merchants by way of reply to this, digested the whole into a second report, and, together with an address suitable to a matter of such mighty consequence, laid it before her majesty, on the first of March 1707, and expressed themselves thereupon, in terms it would be extremely injurious to deprive the reader of the pleasure of reading, considering the strict connection it has with the subject of this work, the true spirit of patriotism that appears therein, and the excellent example afforded thereby; and therefore I have placed it at the bottom of the page. Her majesty

I shall cite here only their lordships conclusion, after setting forth the grievances complained of by the merchants, the answer by the admiralty, and the merchants replication.

" May it please your majesty,

" We having thus performed, what we take ourselves to be indispensibly obliged to, cannot doubt but it will be graciously accepted by your majesty, as coming from most dutiful subjects, who sincerely wish they may never have occasion hereafter to make addresses to your majesty, but to congratulate your successes, or to return humble acknowledgments for the blessings of your reign,

" We beseech your majesty to believe, that none of your subjects do exceed us in true respect to his royal highness the lord high-admiral. His great personal virtues require it, and his near relation to your majesty makes it our duty. And as we do not mean that any thing in this address should in the least reflect upon him; so we are very well assured, his royal highness will never suffer other persons to protect themselves under his name, from a just pursuit of such faults or neglects, as immediately tend to the ruin of trade, and the destruction of Britain.

" There cannot be a plainer proof, that some persons employed by the lord high-admiral, have made the worst use imaginable of the trust he honours them with, than in their presuming to lay such an answer before the house of lords in his name.

" For (not to take notice of the many things which in the second report have been already laid before your majesty), throughout the whole paper, there is not the least hopes given, that for the future any better care shall be taken

" of

her majesty received this address very graciously, and promised to pay all the regard thereto, that the nature of the thing, and the respect due to the advice of the hereditary council of her kingdoms deserved.

The house of commons also went into a grand committee, on the affairs of the navy, of which Sir Richard Onslow was chairman; they heard with great attention all the merchants had to say, and carefully examined all the evidence they could produce; and though there were some people who endeavoured to stop the mouths of the merchants, when they ran out into invidious characters of those officers by whom they thought themselves wronged, yet the majority of the house were inclined to hear their sentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, such complaints as appeared to be well founded; and with this view their lordships, on the 7th of February, addressed the queen to lay aside captain Ker; and on the 26th of the same month,

“ of the trade; on the contrary, the whole turn of the answer seems to be intended, for exposing the complaints of the merchants, rather than pitying their losses. We are sure, nothing can be more remote from the goodness and compassion of the lord high-admiral's temper, and the tender regard he has always shewn for your majesty's subjects,

“ May it please your majesty,

“ It is a most undoubted maxim, that the honour, security, and weak of this kingdom, does depend upon the protection and encouragement of trade, and the improving, and right managing its naval strength. Other nations, who were formerly great and powerful at sea, have, by negligence and mismanagement, lost their trade, and have seen their maritime power intirely ruined. Therefore, we do in the most earnest manner beseech your majesty, that the sea affairs may always be your first, and most peculiar care. We humbly hope, that it shall be your majesty's chief and constant instruction, to all who shall have the honour to be employed in your councils, and in the administration of affairs, that they be continually intent and watchful in what concerns the trade and fleet; and that every one of them may be made to know, it is his particular charge to take care that the seamen be encouraged, the trade protected, discipline restored, and a new spirit and vigour put into the whole administration of the navy.”

“ The house of lords, in their address, inform her majesty, that a complaint had been lodged before them, by Mr. Thomas Wood, in behalf of himself and divers other Jamaica merchants, against captain William Ker, late commander of a squadron of her majesty's ships at that island, for refusing to grant convoy for their ships to the Spanish coast of America; and in particular, that the

month, the house of commons presented an address of the same nature, against the same person."

the said Mr. Thomas Wood had offered to the said captain Ker, the sum of six hundred pounds as a gratuity, if he would order one of her majesty's men of war, under his command, to go as convoy to the Neptune sloop, and Martha galley, laden with woollen and other goods of her majesty's subjects. That the said captain Ker, at that time, seemed pleased with the proposal, and said, the Windsor should be the ship; and ordered Mr. Wood to make what dispatch he could, in getting the galley and sloop ready. On which encouragement, he got them ready to sail, and bought three hundred negroes to put on board them, and then acquainted captain Ker therewith, and with the great charge he was at in maintaining the negroes, and his fear of sickness. Captain Ker then said, he feared he could not spare a man of war; but the next day sent Mr. Tudor Trevor, captain of the Windsor, to acquaint Mr. Wood, that captain Ker said, he thought Mr. Wood could not have offered less than two thousand, or at least fifteen hundred pounds. Whereupon Mr. Wood declared, the sum was so great, that the trade could not bear it, and so the sloop and galley proceeded on the voyage without convoy; and in their return the sloop, loaded with great wealth, being pursued by French privateers, and having no convoy, and crowding too much sail to get from the enemy, was unhappily overfet and lost. The said Mr. Thomas Wood also made another complaint, that upon a further application to the said Mr. Ker, for a convoy for three sloops, bound for the said Spanish coasts, he promised to give the Experiment man of war, commanded by captain Bowler, as a convoy; for which the said Mr. Wood agreed to give eight hundred pounds, four hundred pounds, part whereof, was paid the said Bowler, and the other four hundred pounds was made payable by note to one Mr. Herbert, for the use of Mr. Ker, which note was sent in a letter to Mr. Ker, and by him put into Mr. Herbert's hands. And, besides that, as a farther encouragement for allowing the said convoy, Mr. Ker had an adventure of fifteen hundred pounds in the said sloops, without advancing any money. To this complaint Mr. Ker put in his answer, and both parties were fully heard by themselves, and their witnesses; and upon the whole matter, the house came to this following resolution: "That the said complaint of the said Mr. Wood, against the said captain Ker, as well in relation to the Neptune and Martha galley, as also in relation to the other three sloops, that went under the convoy of the Experiment man of war, hath been fully made out, and proved to the satisfaction of this house."

The queen gave only a general answer to this address, but did not say positively that she would comply with it.

On the 28th of February, upon the report of Sir Richard Onslow, from the committee of the whole house, the commons came to three resolutions against commodore Ker; to which they added a fourth, viz. "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, lying before her the said resolutions, and humbly desiring, that her majesty will be pleased not to employ the said captain Ker in her majesty's service for the future." This address having been presented to the queen, ten days after her majesty declared, that she would comply with it.

These

These warm proceedings had a proper effect; they convinced such as sat at the admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat British merchants with contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the officers to know, that having friends at the board, or being tried, where no evidence could reach them, would not always secure them from punishment^x. On the complaint of the merchants, however, against Sir Thomas Hardy, though prosecuted with great heat, both houses concurred to vindicate him, which was sufficient to encourage the officers of the navy to do their duty; since, where they could prove they had done this, it was most clear they ran no hazard; but, if pursued by clamour, were sure to come off with reputation^y.

As the season for action was now coming on, the lord high-admiral made the following promotions: Sir John Leake was de-

^x Upon a fair computation, made about this time, of the loss of ships at sea, since the beginning of this war, it was found, that the loss the French had sustained in their shipping, far exceeded that of Great Britain, since we had only thirty men of war taken, or destroyed, and one thousand one hundred forty-six merchant ships taken, of which three hundred were re-taken. Whereas, we had either taken or destroyed, eighty of their ships of war, and taken or burnt one thousand three hundred forty-six of their merchantmen, including those destroyed in the West Indies. By way of supplement to this list, it may not be amiss to take notice, that it appeared from the lord high-admiral's answer to the report of the house of peers, there were one hundred seventy-five of the enemies privateers taken, as also the re-captures by her majesty's ships of war, from the 4th of May, 1702, to the 1st of December, 1707, were one hundred twenty-eight; which amounted, by appraisement, to above the sum of 82,975*l*. and the re-captures by privateers, within that time, to 38,054*l*. both which sums amount to 121,030*l*. exclusive of customs.

^y Upon a complaint to the house of lords, of a master of a Canary ship, that Sir Thomas Hardy had refused to convoy him from Plymouth, their lordships ordered Sir Thomas to attend the house, who directed him to attend the committee. The latter took occasion to examine, likewise, the papers relating to his trial; and after they had read them, the next day Sir Thomas Hardy, with two merchants, and the master of the Canary ship, were called in before their lordships; Sir Thomas having shewed his orders, to warrant his refusal of convoy, he was ordered to withdraw; and soon after captain Phillips, deputy usher of the black rod, came out to Sir Thomas, and told him, that their lordships found, he had fully justified himself, and done his duty in every respect; and therefore, that he was discharged from any further attendance upon that committee.

clared

clared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the lord Dursley, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, Esq; rear-admiral of the white^a. Some alterations were likewise made in his royal highness's council^a.

An act passed for regulating convoys, and cruizers; and a further term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the East India Company, in consideration of their advancing 1,200,000 l. for the public service, there being granted in the whole, for the year 1708, no less than 5,933,657 l. 17 s. 4 d. a supply unheard of in former times, and for a great part of which we stand indebted to this day. Of this, upwards of 2,300,000 l. were intended for the service of the fleet, and great things were expected, especially since all parts of the island seemed heartily united in one interest; and the carrying on the war, humbling France, and exalting the house of Austria, were every where considered as the great objects of our care^b; as being essentially necessary to the welfare of the nation.

But, before our projects were thoroughly adjusted, the French actually played off one of theirs; which put us into great confusion, and had like to have had much worse consequences. This was, the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the chevalier de St. George; which was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleased to give the person, whom the queen soon af-

^a London Gazette, N^o. 4405. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, page 5.

^a Henry Saint John, Esq; afterwards lord viscount Bolingbroke, having resigned the office of secretary of war, Robert Walpole, Esq; afterwards earl of Orford, and then one of the prince's council, succeeded him; and in the month of April following, the earl of Wremsy, a nobleman of Scotland, and Sir John Leake, were added to his royal highness's council, in order to oblige both nations. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 591. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 400.

^b Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 396. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 316. Chandler's debates, vol. iii.

ter distinguished by the name of the Pretender. The design is said to have been carried on with great secrecy; but this must be understood only of the French court; for it was sufficiently known, and talked of in Scotland, long before it was undertaken. I do not think, that so idle an expedition demands, in a work of this nature, a very critical explanation, and therefore, I shall content myself with saying, that it ought to be reckoned amongst the number of those affronts, of which the French have never been sparing to this nation, and was chiefly designed to shew how much, in spite of all the power of the allies, Lewis XIV. was able to alarm and distract us.

The troops, intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the marquis de Gace, afterwards styled the marshal de Matignon. The fleet consisted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the count de Forbin, who is said to have disliked the design, because, very probably, he knew the bottom of it; for it is very certain, the French never intended to land, and refused the chevalier to set him on shore, though he would have gone with his own servants. The true scheme of the French king was, to create a diversion; and, if possible, raise a rebellion in Scotland, that, by means of trials and executions, the queen and her ministry might be sufficiently embarrassed at home, and have the less leisure to prosecute their views abroad; and, from these motives, he ordered his ministers in all foreign courts to talk in very magnificent terms, of the succours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him, that, on the rebound, they might make the louder noise in Britain, and induce us to believe our danger the greater, and more inevitable.

In this respect, the French politics had their effect; for, on general Cadogan's sending over an express, disclosing the whole

^c See the proclamation in the London Gazette, N^o. 4416, as also the queen's speech to both houses, March eleventh, 1707-8. in the Gazette, N^o. 4418.

^d Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 499. Ommixson's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 402. Boyer's life of queen Anne.

^e Quincy histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 478. Lamberti, tome v. p. 17. Memoires de Forbin, which appears from this part of them to be spurious.

design, the queen, by Mr. secretary Boyle, acquainted the house of commons therewith, on the fourth of March, and received a very loyal address from them, as well as from the lords^f; but the apprehensions expressed here, and in Holland, had such an effect upon the monied interest, that it occasioned a prodigious run upon the bank, and disturbed our foreign remittances so much, that all thinking people were at this time convinced of the great risk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while heavily loaded with debts at home. Our public securities fell surprisingly, and things would have fallen into downright confusion, if the fright had not been quickly over.

This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four men of war^g, with which Sir George Byng and lord Dursley sailed for the French coast, on the 27th of February, without diminishing the convoy of the Lisbon fleet; which, when we had time to consider it, appeared prodigious, and sufficiently convinced the French, that a real invasion was not at all their business^h. On Sir George Byng's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aside their embarkation; but, upon express orders from court, were obliged to resume it, and on the sixth of March actually sailed out of Dunkirk; but being ta-

^f The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 114. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 324.

^g Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 500. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 326. Mercure historique et politique, tome xlv. p. 333.

^h The run upon the bank so much alarmed the exchequer, that all ways and means possible were concerted, to put an immediate stop to it; in order to which, the lord high-treasurer not only allowed six, instead of three per cent. for all the money circulating by their bills, but also supplied them with large sums of money out of his private fortune, as the dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, Somerset, and other noblemen also did; which, with the calling in of 20 per cent. upon their capital, brought all things right again sooner than it could have been expected. On the 20th of March the house of commons came to a resolution, that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy, or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and was an enemy to her majesty and her kingdoms.

ken short by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage for Scotlandⁱ.

Sir George Byng pursued them with a fleet of forty ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. He afterwards detached rear-admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to convoy the troops that were sent from Ostend, and prosecuted his expedition with the rest^k. On the 13th of March, the French were discovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made signals, but to no purpose, and then steered a N. E. course, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George Byng followed them, and took the *Salisbury*, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of quality on board; finding it was altogether impossible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of count Forbin's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, pursuant to the orders he received from the ministry, from whence he soon came to London, where he was most graciously received by the queen his sovereign, and by his royal highness prince George of Denmark^l.

One would have imagined, that this apparent success must have satisfied every body; and that, after defeating so extraordinary a scheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and restoring public credit, as it were, in an instant, there should have been an universal tribute of applause paid to the admiral, by all degrees of people. Yet, this was so far from falling out, that Sir George Byng had scarce set his foot in London, before it was whispered, that the parliament would inquire

ⁱ Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 139. See the marshal Maignon's letter to monsieur Chamillard, the secretary of state, dated Dunkirk, April 7th, in Lamberti, tome v. p. 24.
^k Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 500. See the London Gazette, No. 4418.

^l The *Salisbury* prize was a very considerable thing, if we consider the number of persons taken on board. For, besides lord Griffin, lord Clermont, Charles Middleton, and Francis Wauchope, Esqrs. who had all followed the fortunes of king James; there were likewise several land and sea-officers in the French service, of very great distinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ship's company, consisting of 300 men. London Gazette, No. 4410.

into his conduct; which took rise from a very foolish persuasion, that having once had sight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleased, have taken every ship as well as the Salisbury^m.

The truth of the matter was, that the French having amused the Jacobites in Scotland, with a proposal about besieging the castle of Edinburgh, Sir George Byng was particularly instructed to use all means for preventing that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, answered the principal end for which he was sent. But the same malicious people, who first propagated this story, invented also another, viz. that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ships being foul; which actually produced an inquiry in the house of commons, and an address to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the same were cleanedⁿ. That done, they resolved the thanks of the house should be given to the prince, as lord high-admiral, for his great care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled, so happily, to prevent the intended invasion.

This was a very wise and well-concerted measure, since it fully satisfied the world of the falsehood of those reports, and at the same time gave great satisfaction to the queen, and her royal consort, the prince of Denmark, who had both testified an unusual concern in relation to the report of the house of lords, which they conceived affected his royal highness's character, as lord high-admiral; and therefore, to give this message of thanks a better grace, and make it more acceptable, the utmost care was taken in the choice of those who were appointed to carry it^o.

Thus

^m Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 407. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 331. The complete hist. of Europe, for 1708, p. 174.

ⁿ Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 95.

^o The names of the persons appointed to carry his royal highness the message, were, Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. secretary Boyle, Mr. Compton, Mr. Scobell, colonel Bierly, lord William Paullet, the earl of Hertford, Mr. Heytham, admiral

Thus ended this affair of the invasion, which made so much noise at that time, and which has been handed down in so many different lights to posterity. An affair, indeed, which speaks the true policy of France, and shews how artfully she can serve her own ends, and with how great readiness she betrays, and gives up to destruction, such as are simple enough to trust her. But, through the wisdom of the British ministry, joined to the cunning of some of the nobility of Scotland, who were taken into custody upon this occasion, and who, it is generally thought, gave such lights as enabled the government to take these effectual methods; the latter part of the French scheme proved as abortive as the first; all the prisoners being soon after set at liberty, and every thing being done to satisfy and quiet the people of that country².

The great point the ministry had in view this year, was, to put the affairs of his Catholic majesty into better order, and to repair, as far as it was possible, the many unlucky consequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was so early at sea, that on the 27th of March he arrived at Lisbon; having, in his way thither, seen the merchant ships bound to Virginia, and the Canaries, with their respective convoys, well into the sea, and taken care for the security of others designed to the ports of Portugal³. Here he found the ships that had been left with captain Hickes, which were fourteen of the third rate, besides small frigates, and bomb-vessels; and at a council of war it was resolved, that, as soon as the transports were ready to receive the horse on board, the fleet should proceed to Vado, and that such of the ships of war as could not be got ready by that time, should follow to Barce-

admiral Churchill, Mr. Bromley, Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Brewer, Sir John Swinton, Sir John Erskine, Mr. Halden, Mr. Cockburne, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Wortley.

² It is evident from the French writers, that they are as much divided in their sentiments, and consequently as much in the dark as we. Marshal Maitignon's letter shews plainly, it was, on the side of France, a mere temporary diversion. Those who were suspected to have invited it were insincere, and the persons embarked, were the dupes of friends and foes.

³ Burchet's naval history, p. 749. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 504. London Gazette, N^o. 4414, also N^o. 4414.

long, where there would be orders left how they should farther proceed. But, as for the Dutch ships, they were all separated in bad weather, between England and Lisbon. It was also determined, as the desire of the king of Portugal, to appoint the *Warsight*, *Rupert*, and *Triton*, to cruise off the *Tercera*, or *Azores* islands, for the security of his majesty's fleet expected from Brazil; nor was there any care omitted to guard the *Streights* mouth, lest otherwise our trade should suffer by the enemy's cruisers or privateers. The procuring transport ships, and putting them in a condition for receiving the horse, took up a considerable time; but, on the 23d of April, the admiral was ready to sail with as many as could carry fifteen hundred, with one second rate, twelve third rates, two fourths, a fire-ship, bomb-vessels, &c. together with twelve ships of the line of battle of the states-general; and, upon advice from colonel Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, and from other hands, that some French ships of war were seen cruising off the *Streights* mouth; one third, and one fourth rate, and another of the Dutch ships of war, were appointed to strengthen those before ordered to ply up and down in that station¹.

The admiral sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the 28th of April, and, in his passage up the *Streights*, he, on the 11th of May, being about twelve leagues from *Alicant*, had sight of several vessels, which he took for fishing-boats. But he had a better account of them the next day, for having detached before some light frigates from *Barcelona*, to give notice of the approach of his fleet, one of them had the good luck to take a

¹ Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 349. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 413. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 187, 188. London Gazette, N^o. 4328.

² There was an absolute necessity of sending so strong a fleet to the relief of the king of Spain, for without it he must have been obliged to quit that kingdom. The enemy had no less than three armies in the field, under the command of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Noailles, and the marquis de Bury; while king Charles was in a manner shut up in his city of *Barcelona*, and had no hopes of his being delivered, but by our fleets transporting the German troops, that lay ready for his service in Italy. Yet, very soon after the arrival of Sir John Leake in these seas, his affairs began to change their aspect, and he had a considerable army in the field, under the command of that consummate officer count Saxeberg. Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne. Complete history of Europe, for 1708.

French frigate of twenty-four guns, and thereby obtained an account of the convoy that was expected. Upon this, the captains of our frigates made the necessary dispositions for intercepting them^t. The next day, the French convoy appeared in sight, consisting of three men of war, one of forty-four, another of forty, and the third of thirty-two guns, with ninety settees and tartanes laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the duke of Orleans's army, and bound for Peníscola, near the mouth of the Ebro. The British frigates bore down immediately upon the enemy's men of war, and these abandoning their barks, and endeavouring to make their escape, came in view of the confederate fleet, which, seeing seven men of war, concluded they were enemies, and thereupon the admiral made a signal to give them chase. But as the great ships could not follow them near the coast, the French made their escape in the night. The vice-admiral of the white, who sailed on the left with his division, perceiving the barks near the coast, sent his long-boats and small ships, and took several of them^u. The next morning they saw some of them dispersed, which were likewise secured by the long-boats: and some barks of Catalonia, coming out of their harbours at the same time, to have a share in the booty; sixty-nine of them were taken, and the rest dispersed^w.

On the 15th of May, the admiral arrived at Barcelona, where he was joined by several of our ships, and complimented by the

^t Burchet's naval history, p. 750. London Gazette, N^o. 4435. *Mercurius historicus et politicus* l'Année, 1708, tom. xiv. p. 670, 673.

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 750. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 188. London Gazette, N^o 4437, as also N^o. 4453. Authors differ as to the number taken, as do the Gazettes likewise.

^w This might have proved an affair very considerable in its consequences, if the duke of Orleans, who commanded the army of king Philip, had not been one of the best generals of the age; but he foreseeing that this accident might happen, had provided against it, by ordering a great quantity of oats and beans, which had been laid up for the use of the cavalry, to be employed in making bread, till his army could be better supplied. This capture, however, proved of the utmost service to king Charles, as it enabled his army, after it was once formed, to take the field some weeks sooner than it could otherwise have done; and the readiness with which the admiral caused the cargoes of his prizes to be sent to the king's magazines, sufficiently proves the public spirit of Sir John Leake, and the great concern he had for this service.

king of Spain, on his late success; his Catholic majesty took the opportunity of desiring a squadron might be left under his direction at Barcelona, while the fleet crossed to Italy, to bring over the reinforcements he expected, and the queen of Spain, who, it was thought, was by this time arrived at Genoa. He signified also his desire, that the provisions lately taken might be laid up in his magazines, which were but indifferently furnished; that care might be taken for reducing Sardinia as soon as possible, and that, whenever the service would permit, such dispositions might be made, as would contribute to the conquest of Sicily, which kingdom he judged might be recovered by the forces that were then under count Daun, and the care of the then viceroy of Naples.

As to the provisions, the admiral ordered they should be disposed of, as the king required; but with respect to his other demands, the admiral thought it necessary to call a council of war, to determine which should be executed, since it appeared absolutely impracticable to undertake them all. At this council were present, besides himself, Sir John Norris, Sir Edward Whitaker, Sir Thomas Hardy, and two of the English captains; as also baron Wassenauer, and two of the Dutch². It was there, after mature deliberation, determined to leave with the king two third rates, one fourth, and one fifth rate of ours; and two ships of the states-general, and with the rest of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to the port of Vado, in order to the transporting the horse and foot from thence to Barcelona, as also her majesty the queen of Spain, if she should be ready when the fleet arrived³.

² Burchet's naval history, p. 751. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 504. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tom. xlv. p. 9.

³ The great reason that his Catholic majesty was so desirous of having a squadron to cruise on the coast of Catalonia, was the apprehensions he was then under, that the French would attempt to send a new convoy of provisions from Provence, and Languedoc, into Spain. Besides, during the absence of the fleet, his affairs were in such a distressed condition, that it was absolutely necessary he should have always a naval force in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, to secure his person; in case of any unforeseen accident; and these were the reasons that determined the admiral, and the council of war, to comply with his majesty's request, to the utmost of their power.

The admiral sailed in pursuance of this resolution, and on the 29th of May safely anchored before Vado; but finding nothing in readiness, he sent Sir Thomas Hardy to wait on the queen of Spain at Milan, where he arrived the 18th of June, and was received with all possible marks of respect and esteem^a. Upon his pressing instances, her majesty consented to set out immediately for Genoa, where she arrived on the first of July, embarked on the second, and arrived happily at Mataro on the 14th^b.

After having conducted the queen, with all imaginable respect, to Barcelona, the admiral thought next of the reduction of Sardinia, which he performed almost as soon as he arrived. He appeared before Cagliari on the first of August, and having summoned it, the marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for king Philip, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. Upon this, the admiral ordered the place to be bombarded all that night, and the next morning major-general Wills landed about 1800 men, and made the necessary dispositions for attacking the city; but the Spanish governor, believing himself now at the last extremity, saved them any further trouble by coming to a speedy capitulation^c. The reduction of this island, was of equal advantage to the common cause, and to that of king Charles; for it gave great security to our navigation, and enabled his Catholic majesty to supply himself from thence, as often as he had occasion, with corn and other provisions^c.

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^a Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 247. London Gazette, No. 4453, 4457, 4460.

^b As it was certainly known, that king Philip's consort contributed not a little to fix the Spaniards firmly to the king her husband's interest; it was resolved the year before, to fix upon a wife for king Charles, and accordingly, the princess Elizabeth Christiana of Wolfenbuttle was chosen. She lived many years after her husband, and was mother to the empress queen of Hungary. Before her marriage, her imperial majesty was a Protestant, nor did she change her religion, till she had advised with the Lutheran clergy, who declared, that she might hope for salvation in the church of Rome.

^c Burchet's naval history, p. 752. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 512. London Gazette, No. 4479. Mercure historique et politique, tom. xlv. p. 325, 422, 485.

^c This island lies to the north of Corsica, from which it is divided by a small and shallow arm of the sea. It has on the east, the sea of Sicily; on the west,

The admiral had scarce completed the conquest of this island, before his assistance was required for the reducing another; and therefore sailing from Cagliari the 18th of August, he arrived before Port Mahon on the 25th; but not finding lieutenant-general Stanhope, (afterwards earl Stanhope, and secretary of state), he sent two ships of the third rate to Majorca, to hasten the embarkation of those which were to be furnished from that island. These returned the 1st of September with some settees, laden with military stores for the army; nor was it more than two days, before the Milford, and three Dutch ships of war, arrived with the lieutenant-general, being followed by five third rates, convoy to fifteen transports, that had on board them the land forces; whereupon a council of war was held of the sea officers, and it was resolved, that the ships which were to return to Great Britain, should leave behind them, to assist in the attempt, all the marines, above the middle complement of each of them, and that the squadron of English and Dutch, designed to be continued abroad with Sir Edward Whitaker, should remain at Port Mahon, to assist with their marines and seamen in the reduction of that place, so long as the lieutenant-general should desire it; due regard being had to the season of the year, the time their provisions might last, and the transporting from Naples to Barcelona, four thousand of the emperor's troops for the service of his Catholic majesty. It was also resolved, that the English ships should spare the forces as much bread as they could, and both they and the Dutch all their cannon-shot, except what might be necessary for their own defence; and that, when every thing should be landed, which was necessary for the siege, the admiral should proceed to England, with one second rate, and six thirds of ours, and eight Dutch ships of the line; but some time after this, he sent home two English and two Dutch ships of war, with the empty transports of both nations, in or-

the Mediterranean; on the south, the coast of Afric, from which it is not distant above fifty leagues. It is divided into two parts by the rivers Credo and Lirio, and is extremely fruitful in corn, oil, honey, and all the necessaries of life. As soon as the English fleet appeared, the clergy declared unanimously for king Charles; and the admiral had the satisfaction of seeing the new viceroy he carried over, established in the peaceable possession of his government in the space of a week, and without the loss of so much as a man. The reader will find the capitulations at large, in the complete hist. of Europe, for 1708, p. 261.

dor to their being discharged. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that, by the end of October, the place surrendered, and the garrison, consisting of about a thousand men, marched out, and were afterwards transported on board our vessels, some to France, and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation^d.

Before this conquest of Port Mahon, Fort Fornelle, which had beneath it a harbour little less considerable, though less known than Port Mahon, had submitted to the obedience of king Charles. This service was owing to captain Butler, and captain Fairborne, who battered that fort, with the two ships under their command, till they obliged it to surrender. The place was naturally strong, and was, besides, tolerably fortified; having four bastions, and twelve pieces of brass cannon: yet, it cost but four hours time, and the loss of six men killed, and twelve wounded. They found in the garrison, a hundred cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all things necessary for a good defence.

Some little time after, the general sent a detachment of about a hundred Spaniards, with three hundred or more of the marquis Pisaro's regiment, to Citadella, the chief town of the island on the west side thereof. Sir Edward Whitaker dispatched two ships of war thither; which place put them to no great trouble, for the garrison, immediately surrendering, were made prisoners of war, consisting of a hundred French, and as many Spaniards. Being thus possessed of this important island, we had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which, during the war, was exceedingly useful to us in the cleaning and refitting such of our ships as were employed in the Mediterranean; and not only magazines of stores were lodged there for that purpose, but such officers appointed to reside on the place,

^d The troops under the command of general Stanhope, consisted of no more than two thousand six hundred men, which were landed at Port Mahon on the 14th of October. They were not able to batter the place till the 28th, and two days after it surrendered; about fifty men were killed and wounded in the siege, and among the former, captain Stanhope of the Milford, brother to the general, a young gentleman of great hopes, and who had distinguished himself remarkably upon this occasion. Burchet's naval history, p. 753. Burchet's history of his own times, vol. II. p. 512. *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. xlv. p. 373. 489.

as were judged requisite, and a vast expence saved thereby to the nation^e.

But it is now time we should return to the fleet, which, as we observed, sailed under the command of Sir John Leake for England, the sixth of September. His excellency, on his arrival at Gibraltar, being there informed, that four French men of war had taken some of our merchant ships, running, as they called it, without convoy, near cape Spartel, and carried them into Cadiz; he thought proper to leave a small squadron, consisting of two third rates, one fourth, and a fifth, to cruize in that station, in order to prevent such accidents for the future, and then pursued his voyage to England, where he arrived safely at St. Helen's, on the 19th of October^e, having met in the Soundings with the squadron cruizing there under the command of lord Dursley, afterwards earl Berkley, and for some time at the head of the admiralty.

^e The reduction of the island of Minorca, was so considerable a service, that all imaginable pains were taken to make the British nation sensible thereof, by giving an exact relation of that whole proceeding in the Gazette; and after general Stanhope had transmitted an account of the conquest of the whole island, the earl of Sunderland, then principal secretary of state, wrote the following letter to his excellency upon that subject:

"SIR,

"I received on Monday the favour of yours of the 30th September, N. S. by captain Moyser, with the welcome news of your taking Port Mahon; which though it came at the same time as the news of taking of Lisle, yet was not at all lessened by it; every body looking upon our being in possession of Port Mahon, as of the last consequence to the carrying on the war in Spain; besides the other advantages, if we are wise, we may reap from it, both in war and peace. I cannot express to you the sense the queen, and every body here, have of your zeal and conduct, in this affair, to which this very important success is so much owing. I heartily condole with you for the loss of your brother, which, indeed, is a public loss to us all, he was so deserving a young man. I must not omit telling you, the queen does entirely approve of your leaving an English garrison in Port Mahon, for the reasons you mention, though some of them must be kept secret. Her majesty doth approve also of the governor you have named," &c. Burchet's naval history, p. 753. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 350, 351. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 312. London Gazette, N^o. 4481.

^f Burchet's naval history, p. 753. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Mercure historique et politique, tom. xlv. p. 531.

Sir

Sir Edward Whitaker had now the sole command of the squadron left for the Mediterranean service, and was consequently exposed to all the difficulties which usually happen to officers under different orders. On one side, he was bound to regulate his conduct by the instructions left him by Sir John Leake; on the other, he was continually solicited by king Charles, to undertake this or that expedition for his service. The chief thing the imperial court had at this time in view, was, the reduction of the island of Sicily, an enterprize not to be undertaken, but in conjunction with our fleet; and, as it afterwards proved, not then neither; for when Sir Edward had disposed every thing in the best manner possible, for the supporting this design, the viceroy of Naples declared, there were such discontents in that kingdom, as would not allow him to send any troops from thence; but, if Sir Edward Whitaker would furnish him with a small squadron, he was ready to undertake the reduction of the places on the coast of Tuscany, which belonged to the crown of Spain^s.

In compliance with this request, the *Defiance*, and the *York*, with the *Terrible* bomb-vessel, were sent into the road of Piombino; but the Germans, as usual, were so backward in their preparations, that it was necessary to continue a month longer in those seas; to very little purpose, at least with respect to either of the designs before-mentioned: but, in regard to a dispute that then subsisted between his holiness and the imperial court, and which had almost risen into a war, it had a better effect; for our chasing some of the Pope's gallies, and threatening to bombard Civita Vecchia, contributed not a little to bring down the pontiff's haughty stomach, and inclined him to an accommodation upon terms acceptable to the imperial court.

All this time, Sir Edward Whitaker himself was at Leghorn, attending the motions of the German troops, where he unexpectedly received a letter from king Charles III. of a very extraordinary nature. His majesty acquainted him therein, that the enemy had not only besieged the city of Denia, in Valencia,

^s Burchet's naval history, p. 754. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 350. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 313.

but

but had threatened also to attack Alicante, in which they were to be supported by a French fleet of fifteen ships of the line. For these reasons, and to prevent his being surrounded in Catalonia, his majesty earnestly intreated him not to pass the Streights, as by Sir John Leake's instructions he was required to do, but to remain upon the coast of Spain; assuring him, if he did otherwise, he would charge upon him all the misfortunes that might happen to his affairs. General Stanhope also wrote much to the same purpose; upon which it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed immediately to Vado, to take on board there a reinforcement of German foot, for the service of king Charles, and then sail directly for Barcelona^b.

In pursuance of this design, Sir Edward Whitaker left Leghorn on the 27th of November, and having executed it very successfully, arrived safely at Barcelona. There the king acquainted him by letter, that, according to what had been agreed on, at a council of war held in his royal presence, the most considerable service the squadron under his command could do, at that juncture, was to return to Italy, and convoy the troops from thence designed for Catalonia; but withal, recommended to him not only the conveying the transports, with corn from Majorca, and their being afterwards sent to Sardinia, for a further supply, and for horses to mount their cavalry, but that, when he should be on the coast of Italy, he would appoint such ships as cardinal Grimani might desire, to secure the passage of the Pharo of Messina, which might conduce to the

^b The affairs of king Philip continued to prosper, after the battle of Almanza, on all sides. The duke of Orleans commanded the best part of the year, and after making himself master of Tortosa, had certainly carried his conquests farther, if the French court had not thought fit to recal him; the reasons of which extraordinary step have been somewhat differently reported. It is, on the one hand, alledged, that the princess of Ursins, who at that time entirely governed king Philip, fell into a correspondence with the enemies of the duke of Orleans at the French court, and by a multitude of intrigues, rendered him odious to his uncle, Lewis XIV. On the other hand, it is as confidently affirmed, that his royal highness held a secret correspondence with the allies, and had actually formed a project for supplanting king Philip. Whatever his political schemes might be, he certainly shewed himself an able general, since, by keeping count Starenberg employed in Catalonia, he gave the chevalier d'Asfeldt time to conquer and secure the kingdom of Valencia.

more speedily accommodation of affairs that were negotiating at Rome.

Hereupon it was agreed, that the Dutch ships should proceed directly to Majorca, and convoy the transports to Barcelona, and from thence to Cagliari, as soon as they should be unladen, while the rest of the squadron made the best of their way to Leghorn, where arriving, they met with very bad weather; but had advice, that matters were accommodated at Rome, the Pope having owned Charles III. king of Spain; and from the marquis de Prie, that three thousand effective men should be ready to embark at Naples, as soon as they arrived there¹. These negotiations took up the remaining part of the winter, and therefore, here we are to put an end to our account of Sir Edward Whitaker's squadron, the proceedings of which we shall resume, when we come to speak of the naval transactions of the ensuing year.

The squadron appointed to cruize in the Soundings, was commanded this year by lord Dursley, who was very fortunate in protecting our trade, but not altogether so happy in chasing the French ships that appeared from time to time upon our coast, which was intirely owing to the foulness of his ships, and to the cleanness of theirs. In the middle of the summer, a resolution was taken, to make a descent on, or at least to alarm, the coast of France; and Sir George Byng as admiral, and lord Dursley as vice-admiral, of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet destined for that purpose, and lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land-forces. Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true

¹ The Pope had all along shewn a great inclination to favour the French interest, and the emperor having differed with him about their temporal rights, the Pope began to raise troops, and to behave as if he intended to dispute the point after the manner of sovereigns; but the German troops entering the ecclesiastical state, and living there at discretion, and the English fleet threatening his coasts, he was constrained, much against his will, and after struggling against it to the utmost of his power, to acknowledge king Charles, and to submit, in every other respect, to the terms prescribed by the emperor. About the same time, several of the fortresses on the coast of Tuscany were reduced by the countenance of our fleet; and something, probably, had been attempted in Sicily, but that king Phillip sent over thither count Mahoni, an experienced officer, with a seasonable reinforcement of three thousand men.

design of which was disturbing the French naval armaments on their coasts, and obliging the French court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which necessarily occasioned the diminishing of their army in Flanders. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the transports, having the troops on board which were intended for the descent, sailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Dèal. The 29th, they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuse the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The first of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they stood in pretty nigh the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy. The fourth they weighed; but anchored again about noon in the bay of Estaples.

Here a detachment of troops were actually landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have countenanced, being by this time laid aside, an express brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The seventh, they stood over again to the coast of England, and, being joined by several more transports in Dover road, arrived the 11th in the bay of La Hogue. The 12th, it was designed to have landed the troops; but, upon viewing the coast, they found so many of the enemy's forces brought together, to oppose a descent, and so many forts and batteries on shore, that it was judged impracticable. The 14th, the fleet sailed again to the westward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day, the lord Dursley, in the Oxford, with six other men of war, and frigates, failed to the westward to cruize in the Soundings. The 17th, the rest of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue; but the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th^k.

When

^k Mr. secretary Burchet takes not the least notice of this expedition, though we have a very large account of it in the *Gazettes*, N^o. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, &c. The French historians, likewise, magnify the great advantage they obtained by repelling this invasion. After thus alarming the French coast, and creating the enemy inexpressible trouble, the duke of Marlborough desired, that

When the Squadron under lord Dursley had been victualled, and refitted, at Plymouth, he sailed from thence on the 28th of September, with five ships of war, and was joined the next day by the Hampshire, which had taken a small French privateer. His lordship took another himself, of twenty-four guns, belonging to St. Malo, which had done a great deal of mischief. On the 7th of November his lordship returned to Plymouth, and soon after the Hampshire brought in a privateer of 16 guns, and a rich merchant-man bound to the West Indies; the Salisbury likewise brought in two prizes, and, through the great vigilance of this noble commander, the whole coast was very thoroughly protected. In the middle of December, his lordship having cleaned his ship, put to sea again with his Squadron, and, on the 29th, saw two ships, which chased him; but when they came near, they bore away, and then his lordship returned the compliment, by chasing them with all the sail he could make, and at last came within gun-shot, when their commander lightened them by throwing many things overboard, and so they escaped; which gave great concern to his lordship, the one being a sixty, the other a fifty-gun ship: so that, after a short cruize, he returned with his Squadron to Plymouth, without being able to make any other prize than a French fishing-vessel from the banks of Newfoundland.

This indefatigable diligence of his lordship, though it was not attended with any extraordinary success, gave great satisfaction to the merchants, as it hindered the French privateers from venturing near our coasts, as they had done for many years before, to the inexpressible damage of our trade, as well as to the prejudice of our reputation as a maritime power. It was, therefore, justly resolved, to give his lordship an extraordinary mark of her majesty's favour, by promoting him to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and though this was somewhat retarded by the death of his royal highness the lord-

that this body of troops might be landed at Ostend, which was accordingly performed on the twenty-third of September, at so critical a juncture, that it is thought, if they had not arrived as they did, the city of Lisle could scarce have been taken.

high-admiral, yet it took place in the spring of the succeeding year^l.

Before we part with this subject, in order to account, as we have promised to do, for what happened this year in the West Indies, it is requisite to speak of the passage of the queen of Portugal on board our fleet to Lisbon. Her majesty was styled, before her marriage, the arch-duchess Mary-Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor Leopold, and sister to the emperor Joseph. This marriage was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cause, and was therefore very grateful to our court, who readily offered to send her majesty to Lisbon on board a British squadron. In the beginning of the month of September she set out for Holland, where rear-admiral Baker attended, with a small squadron, to bring her over^m; which he accordingly did on the 25th of that month, and landed her at Portsmouth, where she staid some days at the house of Thomas Ridge, Esq; and the queen, being then at Windsor, sent instantly the duke of Grafton to compliment her majesty on her part, as his royal highness the prince of Denmark did the lord Delawarⁿ. On the sixth of October, about three in the afternoon, the queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her majesty was received by Sir George Byng, and, on her going off, the governor saluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning, at 7 o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to sea, when all the cannon of the town were again discharged.

Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a quick and easy passage, brought her majesty safely into the river of Lisbon, on the 16th of the same month. The king, with

^l What I have here advanced, is on all hands allowed, and even by bishop Burnet himself, who confesses, that much greater care was taken of our trade, and the French privateers were more effectually restrained, than in any year since the war began. Buzebet's naval history, p. 720. Burnet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, for the year 1708. Annals of queen Anne. Columna rostrata, p. 288.

^m Boyer's history of queen Anne, p. 354. Mercure historique et politique, tome xlv. p. 306. London Gazette, N^o. 4466, 4469.

ⁿ Burrel's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 515. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 354. Mercure historique et politique, tome xlv. p. 470. London Gazette, N^o. 4471.

Several magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne to welcome the queen; and, returning from thence, their majesties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, from whence they proceeded through a vast crowd of people to the royal chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction, and heard *Te Deum* sung. His majesty conducted the queen to her apartment, and they supped in public with the infantas. There were great rejoicings upon this occasion, and fire-works and illuminations for three nights together. The queen having generously expressed her great satisfaction as to the entertainment she had received during her stay in England, undoubtedly the king was very liberal in his magnificent presents to the admiral and others that conducted her. The arrival of the queen was attended with some other circumstances, which increased the joy of the people; for, on the 12th, four ships from Brazil came into the river, and reported, that the rest of that so long expected fleet were near the coast^o. Several other ships came in afterwards, so that, out of about a hundred sail, there were but thirty or forty wanting, which were detained by contrary winds. The cargo was rich, and there was a good quantity of gold in specie aboard^p.

Sir George, the very next day after his arrival, had intelligence, that some French ships of considerable force had been seen upon the coast, which were supposed to be waiting for the rest of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. Upon this, he immediately sailed in quest of them, though without success, ex-

^o The complete hist. of Europe, for 1708, p. 313. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4478, 4484, 4487. This fleet is said to have been the richest that ever arrived in the river of Lisbon, as we have remarked in the text, having on board ten thousand arrobas of gold, each arroba weighing thirty-two pounds weight, and a great quantity of diamonds, besides merchandize, and was valued, in the whole, at fifty-two millions of cruzadoes.

^p Colonel Godfrey, who had married the duke of Marlborough's sister, was sent to Portsmouth, to defray the expences of the queen of Portugal's household, while she continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all that time. Her majesty, in testimony of her grateful sense of the honours paid her by our court, made a present to the duke of Grafton of a diamond ring, worth twelve thousand crowns, and gave admiral Byng her picture, set with diamonds, to a very great value. Her passage was remarkably happy, as she was not above ten days at sea. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xiv. p. 524.

cept that the news of being at sea forced them to retire, and thereby secured the safe arrival in port of the remaining thirty-four ships, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port Mahon, to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Lisbon with a small squadron. But, before he left that river, he received the queen's instructions to wear the union flag in the Mediterranean⁹. He sailed on the 27th of December, with six ships of the line, two fire-ships, and three store-ships or tenders, leaving directions with Sir John Jennings, to appoint the first ships he should have clean, to guard the mouth of the Streights; and having sent two third rates, two fourths, and a fifth a-head of him to Alicant, to assure the governor of the castle there of his assistance, he arrived himself about the height of cape Palos the third of January, when standing in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land so fresh, at N. N. W. that he could not fetch the bay, so that he bore away to Port Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the fifth, the wind came to the north, and N. N. E. blowing extreme hard, with much snow; and the next day it was so very tempestuous, that it separated most of the squadron, forcing him almost as high as Sardinia; but on the 12th, he got into Port Mahon, where he found most of the squadron^r.

When we last mentioned the exploits of the English navy in America, we gave an account of the arrival there of Sir John Jennings, who commanded in these parts from October 1706, to January 1707, without having it in his power to perform any thing very remarkable. He was succeeded in his command by commodore Wager, who arrived at Jamaica in the summer of the year 1707, and disposed all things in such a manner, that the designs of the enemy were rendered absolutely abortive; the several English settlements were thoroughly protected, and such convoys granted the merchants, as put the trade of that part of the world into a much better condition than it had been since the breaking out of the war; all which was

⁹ Burchet's naval history, p. 757. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 355.

^r Burchet's naval history, p. 757. Boyer's life of queen Anne. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome xlvii. p. 252. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4517.

very honourably acknowledged by the planters and merchants¹.

In the beginning of the year 1708, that part of the world was much alarmed with the news of M. du Cassé's arrival, with a French Squadron of great force, and which, it was supposed, had some design upon the island of Jamaica. This apprehension, however, soon went over, upon the commodore's receiving certain intelligence, that du Cassé was sailed for the Havannah, in order to conduct home the galleons. It is certain, that under his convoy they might have been absolutely safe, since he had double the strength of the English fleet in those seas; and, therefore, we may very well admire, that commodore Wager should even form a design upon these treasure-ships, and much more that he should succeed in it, in spite of all the care and vigilance of M. du Cassé, at once the most able and most active sea-officer then in the French service².

Such as knew the disposition of the late Sir Charles Wager will readily acquit me of flattery, when I venture to give this character of him: that he was an officer who valued his reputation as much, and his fortune as little, as any man that ever was in the British service. Avarice, therefore, had no share in this project of his, which was grounded only in a desire of doing his duty, and restoring the reputation of the British arms, which had not been a little sunk in that part of the world, especially by the covetousness and cowardly proceedings of some of our commanders. The commodore understood perfectly the route of the galleons: he knew that they were to sail from Porto-Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah, and, as he was very sensible that it was to no purpose to attempt them after they had joined du Cassé, he was resolved to try if

¹ The commodore was a man particularly agreeable to people in that part of the world, from his disinterested disposition, and from his desire to contribute in every respect to the protection of their trade, which he did not only without seeking, but even without accepting any gratifications, as the merchants themselves wrote to the board of admiralty.

² *Histoire militaire*, tome vi. p. 124.

it was not possible to intercept them in their passage from Porto Bello to Carthagena^u.

With this view he sent captain Humphrey Pudner, in the *Severne*, to watch the enemy's motions in Porto Bello, from whom he received advice, on the 23d of May, that on the 19th the galleons were sailed. The commodore had then with him the *Expedition*, *Kingston*, *Portland*, and *Vulture* fire-ship, and cruized to the 27th, in expectation of the galleons, but not meeting with them, the commodore began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coast, and were gone for the Havannah^w.

On the 28th of May, about noon, the galleons, in all seventeen sail, were discerned from his top-mast-head, and at the same time they discovered him; but, despising so small a force, resolved to proceed. He chased them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the Barú, a small island which lay in their passage to Carthagena, resolved to dispute the matter there, and stretching therefore to the northward with an easy sail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, in the centre, the vice-admiral, with the same pennant at the fore-top-mast-head, in the rear, and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizen-top-mast-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ships between them^x.

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 705. *Columna rostrata*, p. 292. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 251.

^w This was an affair of prodigious consequence; for, first, the galleons had not returned to Europe for several years, and consequently were extravagantly rich. This very squadron that was attacked by commodore Wager, had on board forty-eight millions of pieces of eight. The Spaniards and French depended intirely upon this supply, their cash and credit being absolutely worn out, so that their mint bills were at thirty and forty *per cent.* discount. It was for these reasons, that care was taken to send so strong a French squadron into the West Indies, and under the command too of an officer, who, besides his high reputation in every other respect, was the best acquainted of any man with those seas.

^x Burchet's naval history, p. 705. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome xlv. p. 230, 307. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 598.

Of the seventeen, two were sloops, and one a brigantine, which stood in for the land; two others of them were French ships, which running away, had no share in the action; the rest Spaniards. The commodore instantly made his disposition; he resolved to attack the admiral himself, gave instructions to captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the Kingston, to engage the vice-admiral, and sent his boat to the Portland, commanded by captain Edward Windsor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral, and as there was no immediate occasion for the fire-ship, she plied to the windward¹.

The sun was just setting when commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then, beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time, (it being dark), she blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the splinters and planks which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blast². Hereupon the commodore put abroad his signal lights, for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue fight of some of the enemy's ships; but finding, after this accident, they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broadside, at least many guns, into her stern, which did so much damage, that it seemed to disable her from making sail, and being then to leeward, he tacking on the Spaniard, got to windward of him, and the Kingston and Portland, (which had, by reason of the darkness of the night, or the blowing up of the Spanish admiral, which made it very thick thereabouts, lost sight of the other ships), following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship he sent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and before the rising

¹ Commodore Wager was wont to say, in private conversation, that a man who would not fight for a galloon, would fight for nothing; and, probably it was in a full persuasion of this, that he attempted so numerous a squadron with so small a force.

² Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 315. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 357. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4459.

of the sun, he saw one large ship on his weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying then with their heads to the north, the wind being at N. E. an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for the Kingston and Portland to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than three hundred Spanish prisoners on board his own ship*.

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, the Kingston and Portland had left off chase; but he made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fire-ship still continuing with him, and he having lain by some time, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the Kingston and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased was the vice-admiral; to which, as they said, they came so near as to fire their broadsides into her; but were so far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a shoal off Carthagea, that they were forced to tack and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneasiness, and determined him to call the captains of these ships to account; but, in the mean time, he sent them orders to take or destroy a galleon of forty guns, which he understood, by a Swedish ship that had been trading at Barú, had taken shelter in that island.

She was just coming out of port as the Kingston and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her ashore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be got out of her, as our captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the second of June, the commodore finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the Spanish prisoners ashore, according to their request, on the island of Barú, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly, and the Spanish rear-admiral re-

* Burchet's naval history, p. 706. Burner. The complete history of Europe, for 1708. Annals of queen Anne. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414.

tained,

tained, as long as he lived, a grateful sense of the commodore's civility ^b.

On the 8th of July, the Expedition, Kingston, and Vulture fire-ship, brought the prize safe into Port-Royal harbour, where the commodore soon after arrived. He found, at his return, the new act of parliament for the distribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the sailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered captain Long to deliver up near thirty thousand pounds worth of silver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to satisfy the sailors of the uprightness of his intentions. He likewise took care to dispatch proper intelligence to England, that ships might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons that had escaped; and, on the 23d of July, he held a court-martial on the two captains who had behaved so indifferently in the late engagement ^c.

A few

^b According to the account given to the commodore by these prisoners, of the strength and value of the squadron, and which seems to deserve more credit than any others, the admiral, called the St. Joseph, carried sixty-four guns, and had six hundred men, of whom seventeen only were saved, and had on board about seven millions in gold and silver; the vice-admiral mounted sixty-four guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with about six millions; the rear-admiral mounted forty-four guns, but carried eleven more in her hold, and had only thirteen chests of pieces of eight, and fourteen sous of silver, the rest of the galleons were, for the most part, loaded with cocoa. It is very remarkable, that in all the action, the commodore had but two men killed, and nine wounded. I shall take this opportunity of adding a succinct account, of a gallant exploit performed by an English officer, a little before the taking the galleons. Captain Colebay, commander of a privateer sloop, of about an hundred men, meeting with fourteen sail of brigantines and sloops, laden with valuable goods, going from the galleons at Porto Bello, to Panama, under convoy of a guard sloop, bravely fought the guard sloop, and took her and six more. The Spaniards offered the captain one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight for the ransom of the sloop, which he refused.

^c In the London Gazette, No. 4476, we have the following account of the proceedings of this court-martial:

At a court-martial held on board her majesty's ship Expedition, at Port Royal, in Jamaica, the 23d of July 1708,

P R E S E N T,

Charles Wager, Esq; commander in chief of a squadron of her majesty's ships in the West Indies, PRESIDENT:

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D d

Captain

A few days after, the commodore received a commission, appointing him rear-admiral of the blue^d, which bore date before his taking of the galleon; and therefore, as Mr. Lediard very justly observes^e, ought not to be considered as a reward for that action; in which light, however, many other writers have

Captain Barrow Harris, of the Assistance; captain Tudor Trevor, of the Windsor, captain Humphrey Pudner, of the Severne; captain Stephen Hutchins, of the Scarborough; captain Henry Long, of the Expedition; captain Abraham Tudor, of the Dolphin.

All duly sworn, according to an act of parliament.

Captain Simon Bridges, commander of her majesty's ship the Kingston, was tried for not having performed his duty in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May last; and it did appear by evidence upon oath, that the said captain Simon Bridges, through misconduct, did not use his utmost endeavours to engage, and take the enemy, on the 28th of May last, at night; and that he did too negligently pursue the chase of the Spanish vice-admiral, the 29th and 30th: and that he left off chase, when within gun-shot of the said ship, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and bearing near the shoal, called Salmadinat, though the pilot offered to carry the ship within the said shoal, after the said vice-admiral; but no want of personal courage being alledged against him, this court does only find him guilty of the breach of part of the 28th, and part of the 24th articles of war, and for the said offence, do dismiss him, the said captain Simon Bridges, from being captain of her majesty's ship Kingston.

Captain Edward Windsor, commander of her majesty's ship the Portland, being tried for not doing his duty, in a late action with the Spanish galleons, on the coast of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May last; it did appear, by evidence upon oath, that the said captain Edward Windsor was slack in his duty, by not bearing so near the enemy as to keep sight of some of them, when they were engaged on the 28th at night; that upon chasing the enemy next day, by signal from the commodore, he left off chase, and bore down to the Kingston in the evening, when he ought not to have done so; and that on the 30th, when the Kingston and Portland chased the vice-admiral of the galleons, near the Salmadinat, he shortened sail before he came up with the said ship, so far as he might have done; but it appears, that he was led into these mistakes through want of judgment, and having too great a regard to captain Bridges, of the Kingston, as a senior officer. This court having duly considered the whole matter, do find him guilty of the breach of some part of the 28th, and part of the 24th articles of war, and for the said offence, do dismiss him, the said captain Edward Windsor, from being captain of her majesty's ship Portland.

^d Burchet's naval history, p. 709.
vol. ii. p. 838.

^e Naval history of England,

placed it. Captain John Edwards arriving at Jamaica, with the *Monmouth*, a third rate, the *Jersey*, a fourth, and the *Roeback*, a fifth rate, brought the rear-admiral orders, to send home with him, the *Expedition*, *Windfor*, *Assistance*, *Dolphin*, *Dunkirk's prize*, and *Vulture* fire-ship, with which he complied; and by the latter end of September, they all sailed for England, the *Dunkirk's prize* excepted, which frigate, not being in a condition to be trusted home in the winter, the rear-admiral sent her out on a short cruize, with the *Monmouth*, (the ship in which he was to hoist his flag), under the command of his first lieutenant, when, in the *Expedition*, captain Purvis and they brought in two French merchant ships, one of one hundred, the other of one hundred and fifty tons, loaden with wine, brandy, and other goods, from Rochelle to Petit Guavas; but cruizing soon after, on the north side of Hispaniola, the *Dunkirk's prize* chased a French ship, until she ran on shore near Port François, and following her too near, the pilot not being well acquainted, she struck upon a ledge of rocks, where, being a very weak ship, she soon bulged; captain Purvis, with some of his men, got upon a small key, or uninhabited island, within shot of the French ship; and though she had fourteen guns, and sixty men, and fired smartly upon them, yet having his own boats, with a canoe he had taken, and having made a stage, from whence he was ready to attack them, the French demanded quarter, and surrendered the ship, upon agreement, that her commander and men should be put on shore; and with this ship captain Purvis arrived at Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who refused to assist in the attempt, believing it altogether impossible to succeed therein.

Upon intelligence sent the rear-admiral from the admiralty, that M. du Guai Trouin was sailed with a strong squadron, which it was believed might be intended to execute some design upon the island of Jamaica, a council of war was held on the 1st of December, 1708, where were present, besides rear-ad-

f *Columna rostrata*, p. 293. The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 251. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 599.

g Burchet's naval history, p. 709. Annals of queen Anne. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii.

miral Wager, captain Trevor, of the Kingston; captain Pudea, of the Severne; captain Hutchins, of the Portland; captain Vernon, of the Jersey; captain Charles Hardy, of the Roebuck; and it being judged, that, if they made such an attempt, it would be against the harbour of Port Royal; it was determined, that all her majesty's ships there, except such as it might be necessary to send to windward, for intelligence, or on any other extraordinary occasion, should be drawn up in a line, at the entrance of the said harbour, so as that, with the assistance of the fort, they might in the best manner possible defend it, and most annoy the enemy. The 18th of January, another council of war was called, and since the letter of advice before-mentioned was dated almost six months before, it was considered, whether the squadron should be kept any longer together, since the enemies ships had not appeared; in which it was at length determined, they ought to be employed on necessary services. Thus we have brought the proceedings in the West Indies down to the close of this year, and, according to the method hitherto pursued, we are now to return home, and to give an account of such remarkable events there, as have relation to the affairs of the navy^b.

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead, for the trials of captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; captain John Balchen, of the Chester; and captain Baron Wild, of the Royal Oak; the two first for losing their ships, and the last for breaking the line, disobeying his commanding officer's orders, and neglect of duty. After a strict examination of witnesses, and free liberty given to the persons accused to make their defence, and to produce whatever testimonies were in their power, captain Edwards was most honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty, in every respect, both as captain and commodore; and captain John Balchen was also acquitted; but captain Baron Wild being found guilty of neglect of duty, and disobeying orders, was

^b The French writers themselves own, that affairs went very ill in this part of the world; and bishop Burnet, who is usually hard enough upon the miscarriages at sea, has nothing to say as to this year's conduct, but that we did not take so many of the galleons as was expected; yet he lays this at the right door, I mean at that of the captains who were broke by the court-martial.

not only cashiered, but declared incapable of ever serving in the royal navy^l.

On the 28th of October, died his royal highness George prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England, and her British majesty's consort, at Kensington, of an asthma^k. He was born in 1653; married to her majesty the 28th of July, 1683; and on the 13th of November, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of Westminster, at ten in the evening. At this hour, the ordnance on the platform, and on board all the ships in the harbour of Portsmouth, were fired, a minute after each other, which lasted for some hours; and the next morning the union flag was hoisted again, which had been taken down on the news of his royal highness's death^l. Her majesty was pleased to keep the admiralty in her own hands, for about three weeks; and, on the 25th of November, she appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke^m lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the great satisfaction of the whole nationⁿ.

The new parliament meeting on the 18th of November, and having chosen Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. for their speaker, the lord high-chancellor, in a speech from the throne, recommended a provision for the navy, and especially for the building of

^l Annals of queen Anne. Ledlard's naval history. ^k Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 357. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 415. London Gazette, No. 4484.

^l The complete history of Europe, for 1708, p. 432. London Gazette, No. 4488, 4489.

^m Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 516. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 602. London Gazette, No. 4492.

ⁿ Bishop Burnet gives this account of the matter: "In the end of October, George prince of Denmark died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had been twenty five years and some months married to the queen: he was asthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for some time he was considered as a dying man, but the last year of his life he seemed to recover a better state of health. The queen had been, during the whole course of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife; and in all his illness, which lasted some years, she would never leave his bed, but sometimes sat up half the night in the bed by him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on, very deservedly, as a pattern in this respect. This prince had shewed himself brave in war, both in Denmark and Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle: he had made a good progress in mathematics: he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well express; for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully."

new ships, and fortifying our ports. On the sixth of December, the house of commons addressed, for an account of the number of men, that might be wanting to man her majesty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promised, and upon this, accounts being laid before the house, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the same number of men, with the same allowance, and the same sum for the ordinary use of the navy, as had been given the year before; but soon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to inquire into the number of ships employed as cruizers and convoys; as also to discover the true reasons of the great increase of the navy debt; and on their report, they came to a resolution on the 24th of March, "That an address be presented to her majesty, to desire that she would be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the house, an account of all the sums of money granted, or voted, since her majesty's accession to the crown, and how far the same had proved deficient." At the same time, they ordered the commissioners of the navy to lay before them the causes of the increase of the debt of the navy. But, to this address, it seems, the ministry did not think fit her majesty should give any answer; so the affair dropped for that time^o. It is certain, and indeed it was very natural, this conduct of the court gave great offence; yet the commons were so hearty in the prosecution of the war, that, with their usual liberality, they gave for the service of the year 1709, no less a sum than 6,457,830*l*.

There were also in this session some other things done for promoting trade and the plantations, such as a grant of 103,203*l*. for the relief of the inhabitants of St. Nevis, and St. Christophers, and a vote in favour of the trade to Africa^p; but the most remarkable was, the joint address of both houses, that her majesty would be pleased not to conclude any peace with the French king, unless he consented to demolish the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk; which point being accordingly insist-

^o Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 516. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414, 415. The complete history of Europe, for the year 1709, p. 43, 44. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 114.

^p Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 379. The complete history of Europe, for 1709, p. 96. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii,

ed upon in the conferences at the Hague, with M. de Torci, for settling the preliminaries of a general peace; and that minister shewing greater reluctance to consent to this, than to any other of the articles, alledging, that his master bought, and paid for this town and port, besides laying out immense sums upon it since; which so provoked prince Eugene, that he could not help telling the French ministers, with great warmth, that he wondered they should spend so many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generosity of a princess, who, having it in her power to prescribe them harder terms, and force them to deliver that, with what other places she pleased, and revive many pretensions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation⁹. This had such an effect, that the point was immediately given up, and the following article makes the seventeenth of the preliminaries they agreed on.

“ His most Christian majesty promises, to cause all the fortifications of the town of Dunkirk, the harbour, and Ryf-banck, and others depending on the same, without any exception, to be demolished at his own charges; so that one half of the fortifications be demolished, and one half of the harbour filled up within two months, and the other half of the said fortifications razed, and the other half of the said harbour filled up in two other months, the whole to the satisfaction of the queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States-general of the United Provinces; and it shall never be allowed to re-establish the said fortifications, or render the harbour navigable, directly or indirectly^r.”

I have taken particular notice of this, in order to shew how unanimous all parties in this nation have ever been, as to their sentiments on this head; for it was lord Somers who moved this affair in the upper house: and therefore, the measure ought to be considered as a direct proof of the disposition of the Whig ministry, as the inserting a like clause in the treaty of Utrecht, plainly shews the sense of Tory ministers; whence I conclude, that there must be a total revolution of parties in this country,

⁹ Complete history of Europe, for the year 1709, p. 140.

^r These articles may be found in all the general collections; particularly in the complete history of Europe before-mentioned, p. 145.

before there can arise a set of men capable of weakening this part of our security, in any respect, by consenting to, or even conniving at the restoring this port, so fatal to the commerce of the two maritime powers. To these points, I shall add the inquiry into the conduct of the ministry in the late invasion; which was justified by the resolutions of the house of commons; and the diligence of the admiralty commended*.

Before we proceed to the operations of the year 1709, it may not be amiss to take notice of a great naval promotion made by her majesty, for this reason, because it was one of the noblest testimonies of her majesty's concern and regard towards such of her subjects as had served with extraordinary diligence and activity at sea; for the post of rear-admiral of Great Britain having been vacant since the death of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, her majesty, of her mere grace and favour, without the interposition of any of her ministers, bestowed it on Sir JOHN LEAKE, with this remarkable compliment, "That she was put in mind of it " by the voice of the people."

Early in the spring, lord Dursley, who commanded in the Soundings, was at sea with his squadron, and took several prizes from the French; and on the 22d of February, his lordship having only with him the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with eleven sail twelve leagues from Scilly. This happened about three in the morning, and their lights being seen, his lordship made the signal for wearing, which was obeyed, though not without imminent danger of falling amongst the enemy; for this proved to be M. du Guai Trouin's squadron. However, through the darkness of the weather, his lordship missed them; and then stretching away for Plymouth, captain Stuart of the Dartmouth, whom his lordship had sent in a little before with a prize, informed him, that he had been chased by nine large ships off the Lizard, and that they were the same, in his judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged captain Tollet in his passage from Ireland†. This affair having made a great noise, and doing extraordinary honour to the bravery of

* Burnet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, annals of queen Anne, Chandler's debates, &c.

† Burchet's naval history, p. 722. The complete history of Europe, for 1709. Anna's of queen Anne.

our English officers, I shall give a particular account of it from the captain's own papers.

On the 25th of February, captain Tollet, in the *Affurance*, of 70 guns, with the *Sunderland*, of 60, *Hampshire* and *Anglesea*, of 50 guns each, sailed from Corke, and being joined by the *Assistance*, a 50 gun ship, as also with the trade from Kingale, continued his voyage for England. On the second of March, about five in the morning, being then eight leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, he saw four sail standing after him. About seven, they came within random shot; whereupon he made the signal for drawing into a line of battle, and another for the merchant-men to bear away as they best could for their own security; some of them, with the *Anglesea* and the *Sunderland*, having before lost company. About eight, the enemy bore down in a line, and when they were come within musket shot, they hoisted French colours.

The French commodore, who was in a ship of 70 guns or upwards, came ranging along the larboard side of the *Affurance*, and fell aboard her, so that they engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, for the space of almost half an hour; during which, the Frenchman plied captain Tollet so warmly with small shot, as to cut off most of his marines and seamen that were quartered on deck. They then put off, and fell on board again on the lee side of the *Affurance*, first ranging on her bow, and then on her quarter, while she fired her upper deck, and part of her lower deck guns, with such vigour, that she obliged the enemy to sheer off, and stand away a-head towards the merchant-men. The three other ships, which were of 40 or 50 guns, then came ranging along-side the *Affurance*, firing several broadsides into her, and after that bore away as the former. The damage she received was very great; her sides were shot through and through in many places; her shrouds and back-stays cut to pieces, as likewise her main and false stay; which, if not timely seen, had occasioned the loss of her mast. Her fore-sail and fore-top-sail were torn to pieces; her best bower cut away; one of the flukes of the spare anchor shot off, and her small bower, by the enemies boarding, drove through her bow. All possible dispatch was made in fitting her rigging, which, with the bending of a new fore-sail, and fore-top-sail, took up some time. After this

the ships of war all bore down, to secure what merchant ships they could, expecting to have engaged the enemy again; but they declined it. The captain of the Assurance, who had been four months sick, and had been carried upon deck in a chair, was wounded; the first lieutenant was shot in the leg, which being dressed, he then returned to his charge upon deck; the second lieutenant was killed; as were several French officers, whom they brought from Ireland; but more of the latter were wounded. In the whole, the Assurance had five and twenty killed, and three and fifty wounded, and some of these died of their wounds; for the enemy making their chief attempt on her, she had been severely treated; the Hampshire had only two killed, and eleven wounded; the Assistance eight killed, and one and twenty wounded, among the latter was captain Tudor, her commander, who died afterwards of his wounds^u.

M. du Guai Trouin, who commanded the French squadron, had abundance of men killed and wounded, and took only five merchant-men, which it was believed he sent into Brest. In the memoirs, which go under his name, it is acknowledged, that our officers did their duty extremely well; that not only his own ship was very roughly handled by captain Tollet, but also, that the Amazon, and the Glory, that were with him, met the like reception from the Hampshire and the Assistance. As to the five prizes, he says, that two of them were sent to St. Maloe's, one got into Calais, and the other two foundered on the English coast^w.

^u It is amazing that Mr. Secretary Burchet should commit so gross a mistake as he has done, with respect to the dates in this engagement. He tells us, p. 72, that captain Tollet sailed from Corke on the 25th of April; and immediately after, he informs us, that the engagement happened on the 6th; but he does not tell us of what month, though, from the former account, it must have been May. Mr. Lediard saw, and corrected this mistake; but without bringing us any authority, though he happens to be right in his conjecture. We do not, however, trust to that method. In the London Gazette, No. 4521, is a letter from on board the Assurance, with an account of this transaction, dated in Hamoir, March 3, and therein the engagement is expressly said to have happened the day before.

^w The French journals of those times, acknowledge the same thing, and own, that their ships were very roughly treated; and that, if our squadron had been stronger, it would have been difficult for them to escape.

Lord Dursley, on the 20th of March, ordered three ships to cruise off Brest, to gain intelligence, and in the mean time the Salisbury took a French West India ship, richly laden; but the most valuable part of her effects were immediately taken out, because she proved so leaky, that it was suspected she might founder at sea. On the 29th, his lordship had orders to see the Lisbon fleet of merchantmen safe into the sea; but his lordship having received certain intelligence, that M. du Guai Trouin was then cruising at the distance of about thirty-five leagues from Scilly, his lordship proposed to leave the trade and transports, under the protection of some Dutch men of war that were expected from Portsmouth, and resolved to go himself in search of the enemy; but these Dutch ships of war not arriving in time, his lordship thought it better to comply with his orders. He accordingly escorted the Lisbon fleet as far as he was directed, and had scarce parted from them, on the 9th of April, before he discovered the Achilles, commanded by M. du Guai Trouin, and the Glory, who, the day before, had taken the Bristol man of war, a fifty-gun ship; his lordship immediately gave them chase, recovered the Bristol, which, by a shot in her bread-room, sunk afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were saved. The Achilles, much shattered, escaped by her swift sailing, but the Le Gloire, a French man of war of 44 guns and 312 men was taken; his lordship having about seventy men killed and wounded in the action*. On the 26th of April, two small ships were taken, and on the 7th of May, a privateer, carrying 14 guns, and 100 men; but the provisions through all the ships then growing very short, his lordship found it necessary to return to Plymouth on the 13th, with his squadron, which consisted at that time of one third and seven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majesty's ship

* London Gazette, No. 4540. All our public accounts call the French man of war taken in this engagement, Le Gloire; but it appears from the French writers, that the true name of it was, Le Glorieux. In the account published by the admiralty, it appears, that the Bristol, captain Gore, was taken in her passage from Plymouth to Lisbon, after a very warm dispute, in which she had seventy men killed and wounded. The French man of war was taken by captain Thomas Matthews, afterwards admiral and commander in chief in the Mediterranean.

the Sweepstakes, of 32 guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate.

To balance this piece of ill news, there arrived, about the same time, advice, that four French men of war had attacked some New England ships, laden with masts, under the convoy of captain Walter Ryddel, in the Falmouth, a ship of 50 guns, about twenty-four leagues from Scilly. This happened on the 18th of May, and the French commodore, a sixty-gun ship, attempting to board the Falmouth, captain Ryddel saved him the trouble, by filling his head-sails, and laying her on board under her bowsprit, directly athwart her hawser, and at the same time raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The enemy continued in this posture about an hour and half, during which time he entered many men, but they were repulsed. However, the number of men on board her being much greater than those in the Falmouth, it occasioned various turns: but at length he thought fit to retire, having first cut all the laniards of the Falmouth's fore and mizen shrouds, believing it might prevent her following to rescue the convoys, which the enemy stood after. Notwithstanding this, captain Ryddel made sail after him with such diligence, as enabled him, notwithstanding the bad condition he was in, to preserve them all, and to bring them safe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had thirteen men killed, and fifty-six wounded. The captain himself was wounded in the right leg, and had several other hurts; and the second lieutenant, and Mr. Lawson, a volunteer, were shot through the body; the Falmouth had twenty thousand pounds, New England money, on board her at the time of the engagement.

On the very same day, application being made to his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, signifying that two French privateers had entered Bantry Bay, and surprized the Ruth of London, a West India ship, supposed to be worth 25,000*l.* at least; his lordship ordered captain Camock, in the Speedwell, then in the harbour of Kingsale, to

† See the London Gazette, N^o. 4543. Complete history of Europe, for the year 1703, p. 135. Burchet, Annals of queen Anne: but all these accounts are taken from that in the Gazette.

proceed immediately in quest of the said privateers and their prize. He accordingly sailed directly for Beer-haven, at the very entrance of which he met one of the privateers and the prize, making the best of their way to France. The prize was immediately retaken, on board which the captain put his lieutenant with forty men, and then continued the chase all night; but finding the privateer had given him the slip, he the next morning entered Bantry Bay, and took the other privateer, with thirty men on board, most of them Irish, whom he sent to the prison of Corke, in order to their being tried for high treason². Three weeks afterwards, the same alert officer had the good luck to surprise a French privateer of twelve guns and ninety men, on the very point of taking three merchantmen, richly laden, all of whom he brought safe into the port of Londonderry².

It is now time to return to the proceedings of Sir George Byng, whom we left in the harbour of Port Mahon, where he was extremely distressed for want of naval stores, which were on board the *Arrogant*, a ship that had been missing from his arrival in that harbour, in quest of which he detached ships to Majorca, and to the port of Cagliari in Sardinia; and at the same time dispatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was still on the coast of Italy, to join him with his squadron, in case the emperor's troops, that were designed for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February, 1709, was spent in tedious expectations; but at last, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived, with about 3500 men, in transports under his convoy, to the great joy of Sir George Byng and general Stanhope, who had long waited for these forces, in order to attempt something for the relief of Alicant, then besieged by an army of 12,000 men, and for the safety of which, king Charles had expressed unusual concern. As this city and castle had been taken, as we before have shewn, by the remarkable valour of the British seamen; as the present siege of it was one of the most remarkable actions in this age; and as the attempt made for its relief cannot well be understood

² See Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4544. Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 621.

² See the London Gazette, N^o. 4556.

without it; I shall take the liberty of giving a succinct account of the whole affair, from the time the place was invested, to its surrender^b.

ALICANT is a city and port, commanded by a strong castle, standing on a rock, at a small distance from the sea, and about sixty-eight miles south from the capital city of Valencia. There was in it a pretty good garrison, under the command of major-general Richards, which made an obstinate defence against a very numerous army of the enemy, with a very large train of heavy artillery, and excellently supplied with ammunition. At last, the city being absolutely untenable, the garrison resolved to retire into the castle, which had hitherto been esteemed impregnable. They sunk three cisterns in the solid rock, and then, with incredible labour filled them with water. The troops that retired into it, were Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, and that of colonel Sibourg, generally called the French regiment, because it was composed of refugees. After some progress made in this second siege, the French saw that it was impossible to do any great matter in the usual way, and therefore, contrary to all expectation, resolved upon a work excessively laborious, and, in all outward appearance, impracticable; which was that of mining through the solid rock, in order to blow up the castle and its garrison into the air together. At first major-general Richards, and all the officers in the place, looked upon the enemy's scheme as a thing utterly impossible to be accomplished, and were secretly well pleased with their undertaking, in hopes it would give time for our fleet to come to their relief; yet, this did not hinder them from doing all that lay in their power to incommode the workmen, and, at last to countermine them^c.

The besiegers, however, wrought so incessantly, and brought such numbers of peasants to assist them in their labours, that they having, in about twelve weeks time, finished the works thought proper for this service, by very experienced engineers, and charged them with 1500 barrels of powder, several large

^b Burchet's naval history, p. 758. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 393. *Mercur historique et politique*, tome xlvii, p. 374.
^c Burchet *ubi supra*. The complete history of Europe, for 1709, p. 118. Poinsett's chronological history, vol. ii, p. 614.

beams, iron bars, and crows, and other utensils of destruction, summoned the castle to surrender, March 20th, most solemnly assuring a safe and honourable convoy to Barcelona, with bag and baggage for every person in it, if they submitted within three days, and prevented the ruin of the castle; but threatened otherwise, no mercy should be shewn, if any might accidentally escape the blow: and, to demonstrate the reality of their design, they desired the garrison might depute three, or more engineers, with other gentlemen of competent skill, to view their works, and make a faithful report of what they saw. Accordingly, two field officers went to the mine, and were allowed the liberty of making what scrutiny they pleased; upon which they told the governor, that, if their judgment failed them not, the explosion would carry up the whole castle to the easternmost battery, unless it took vent in their own countermine, or vein; but, at least, they conceived it would carry away the sea-battery, the lodging-rooms in the castle-close, some of the chambers cut for soldiers barracks, and, they very much feared, might affect the great cistern^d.

A grand council of war was called upon this; the French message delivered, and the engineers made their report; the besieged acknowledged their want of water; but believing the fleet might be sensible of their distress, and consequently under some concern for their relief, their unanimous resolution was, to commit themselves to the providence of God, and, whatever fate attended them, to stand the springing of the mine. The French general, and Spanish officers, expressed the utmost concern at this answer, and the second night of the three allowed, sent to divert them from what they called, and it is very likely thought, inexcusable obstinacy, offering the same honourable articles as before, even upon that late compliance; but these still were rejected by the besieged. The fatal third night approaching, and no fleet seen, the French sent their last summons, and withal an assurance, that their mine was primed, and should be sprung by six o'clock the next morning; and though, as they saw, all hope and prospect of relief was vain,

^d Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 393. Taubman's memoirs of the British fleets and squadrons in the Mediterranean, p. 32, 33. Annals of queen Anne.

yet there was room for safety still, and the terms already proposed was in their power to accept. The besieged persisted in their adherence to the result of their first council, and the French met their usual answer again; therefore, as a prologue to their intended tragedy, they ordered all the inhabitants of that quarter to withdraw from their houses before five o'clock the ensuing morning. The besieged, in the mean time, kept a general guard, devoting themselves to their meditations. The major-general, colonel Sibourg, and lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft, of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, sat together in the governor's usual lodging-room; other officers cantoned themselves as their tempers inclined them, to pass the melancholy night^c.

At length, day appearing, the governor was informed, that the inhabitants were flying in crowds to the westernmost part of the town. The governor, attended by the above-mentioned gentlemen, and about five or six other officers, went to the west-battery, to inform himself better. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft desired him to remove, as being unable to do any service there; he and colonel Sibourg both answered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel remained, because his superiors did, and other officers imitated the same example: but the hour of five being now considerably past, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, observing some smoke from the lighted matches, and other combustible matter near it, from whence the same ascended to the centinels above. The governor and field-officers were then urged to retreat, but refused.

The mine at last blew up; the rock opened and shut; the whole mountain felt the convulsion; the governor and field-officers, with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyss; the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cliff, who lived many hours in that afflicting posture. About thirty-six centinels and women were

^c *Mémoire historique et politique*, tome xlv. p. 472.

swallowed in different quarters, whose dying groans were heard, some of them after the fourth mournful day. Many houses of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the castle suffered much; but, that it wears any form at all, was owing to the vent which the explosion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine. After the loss of the chief officers, the government fell of course to lieutenant-colonel Dalbeume, rather as I apprehend D'Albon, of Sibourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment from the whole garrison; and with it made a desperate sally, to shew how little he was moved at their thunder. The bombs from the castle played on the town more violently, and the shot galled every corner of their streets; which marks of their resentment they continued till the arrival of our fleet, which they had expected so long^f.

The Spanish and French historians speak of this action with all imaginable regard to the gallant defence made by the besieged. The Spanish army was commanded by the chevalier d'Asfeldt, who was then in the French service, and looked upon as the very best officer they ever sent to king Philip. He was an excellent engineer, saw at once what was to be done, and having formed his plan, pursued it steadily, and accomplished it generally. Under him commanded don Pedro Ronquillo, a Spanish general of distinguished merit. D'Asfeldt contrived and directed the mine, Ronquillo raised and defended the entrenchments between the castle and the sea. Both punctually performed their parts, though both were difficult. D'Asfeldt was very strict and austere; the Spaniards, even of his own party, thought him cruel; yet, upon this occasion, he not only shewed himself generous, but humane. He used every argument possible to persuade major-general Richards to spare himself and his brave garrison, and deplored their loss with tenderness and affection. The Spaniards magnified their heroic

^f This major-general Richards, though an Englishman, was an officer in the king of Spain's service, and of the Romish religion; the Foreign Gazettes mention him with respect, by the name of don Juan Ricardo; there perished, besides the officers mentioned in the text, five captains, three lieutenants, forty-two soldiers, all the miners, and about thirty peasants.

conduct, and called the ruined castle, the monument of English courage^s.

On the 5th of April, about eight o'clock in the morning, Sir Edward Whitaker's Squadron arrived, and attempted the relief of the castle; his ships were the *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Essex*, *York*, and *Dunkirk*. The last went within the line, as drawing less water than the other, in three and a half fathom; then laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind having blown fresh the night before, and an unhappy swell rolling in from the eastward at eleven, the great ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, making out of cannon-shot. The *Dunkirk* having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut between one and two, fell fast a-stern, lying exposed to the enemy's shot, bombs, and carcasses, till three in the afternoon, at which time, by winding the right way, she with much difficulty got off. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known to what extremities the garrison might be reduced, and the enemy increasing considerably in strength, the general sent a flag of truce a-shore, with proposals for surrendering the castle^h; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, the admiral (Sir George Byng) proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached some ships to cruize for the Turkey fleet; others, with transports for corn to Barbary; and the *Suffolk*, *Humber*, and *Ipwich*, which he left to clean at Port Mahon, were under orders to proceed to Genoa and Final, in order to embarking and transporting the German troops from those places to Catalonia.

In his way to Barcelona he landed general Stanhope, with the troops, at Terragona, and returning with the garrison of the castle of Alicant to Port Mahon, joined some other ships to those he first intended for Genoa and Final, and sent them

^s *Reflections militaires et politiques par le M. de Santa Cruz*, tome viii. p. 27, 28, 29. tome ix. p. 197. *Memoires de M. de St. Philippe pour servir a la histoire d'Espagne*, tome ii. p. 228, 243.

^h *Burehet's naval history*, p. 738. *Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 423. *The complete List of Europe*, for 1709, p. 219. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4544.

thither

thither under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker; but directed him first to proceed to Leghorn, for a supply of provisions, which was at this time very much wanted. The few ships he had with him at Port Mahon, he was cleaning as fast as possible, that so they might cruize against the enemy, who had taken the *Faulcon*, a ship of thirty-two guns, off Cape de Gat, in her passage to Lisbon, from whence he had ordered Sir John Jennings to join him, with the ships under his command, who was off Gibraltar the 21st of May, with sixteen men of war, English and Dutch, and about forty transports, laden with corn, as also provisions and stores for the fleet in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Port Mahon the 28th; from whence he guarded the corn ships to Barcelona, and was joined the 8th of June by Sir George Byng, with the rest of the English and Dutch men of war; and there Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with his squadron from Italy, and above two thousand recruits for the army in Catalonia.

A council of war being held, it was determined, that since the king of Spain, as the posture of his affairs then stood, could not come to any resolution relating to the fleet's assisting in the reduction of those parts of Spain, still in the possession of the enemy, the admiral should sail to a station ten leagues south of Cape Toulon, not only for intercepting the enemy's trade, but to alarm them all that might be; but since it was necessary that a squadron should be on the coast of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was sent thither with one ship of the second rate, four of the third, five of the fourth, and three of the fifth¹.

Sir George Byng arrived before Toulon the 21st of June, in which harbour he saw only eight ships rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the rest being disarmed; which satisfied him, that the informations he had formerly received were true, that the enemy did not intend, in fact was not able, to bring out any fleet that year; but were resolved to content themselves with sending abroad small squadrons to protect their corn-fleets². After having thus insulted Toulon, he in a short

¹ *Histoire militaire*, tome vi. p. 253. Burchet's naval history, b. v. c. 29.

Annals of queen Anne.

² Burchet's naval hist. p. 759. *Mercur*
historique et politique, tome xlvii. p. 129. *Lond. Gaz.* N^o. 4557.

time returned to Barcelona road, where he found most of the ships arrived from the services upon which he had sent them; and some of them, particularly the *Centurion* and *Dunkirk*, had been so fortunate as to make a great many prizes. The court of Spain was, at the instance of cardinal Grimani, very desirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by general Stanhope, that it was her majesty's pleasure, part of the fleet should assist in the design upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ships having been separated in bad weather, and ours being too few to answer these and many other services the court proposed, he suspended for some time the coming to any resolution, being every day in expectation of the ships of the states-general.

But at length, that the service might not suffer through delay, the admiral formed a disposition of her majesty's ships, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the service of Sicily, while he himself designed to proceed on the other with general Stanhope. The 26th of July, the court of Spain having notice of the enemies penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as they apprehended, to besiege Gironé; and there being a want of ships to protect the coasts of Catalonia, and hinder the enemies having supplies by sea, as also a squadron to bring over the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of in that principality, and some ships to go to Italy, for money to subsist the troops; the court seemed to lay aside the design on Sicily, and the admiral sent five ships for the vessels laden with corn¹, which have been before mentioned.

The warmth, impatience, and irresolution of the court at Barcelona, obliged the admirals to drop both these great designs; for, without regard to what had been resolved, or even for what themselves had demanded before, they were continually desiring something new to be done for them, without ever considering, that it was impossible our ships could perform one service, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehension that the enemy would attack Gironé, the English ships

¹ Burchet's naval history, p. 759, 760. London Gazette, N^o. 4571, 4572.

were desired to intercept their subsistence. Soon after, they were distressed for want of provisions themselves, and then the most necessary thing that could be done, was to send for the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina. By that time this was resolved on, money grew scarce, and then his Catholic majesty hoped, that the English ships would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which these demands were made, and the apprehensions the officers were under of complaints being sent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; so that of necessity, as the most distant and least practicable, the expedition against Sicily was laid aside. Our admirals, however, still flattered themselves that something might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, besides, highly discontented with the French government ^m.

On the 27th of July, the Dutch squadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a council of war, and laid before them the queen's orders, the desires of his Catholic majesty, and the project formed by themselves for attempting Cadiz; but the commander in chief of the Dutch ships excused himself from any share in it; declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of August, which disabled him from undertaking any service beyond the 20th of that monthⁿ. On the 28th of the month last mentioned, three English men of war, the *Nassau*, *Ludlow Castle*, and *Antelope*, sailed for Barcelona, having on board a great sum of money, for the service of his Catholic majesty^o. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng should proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch ships be employed in other services; which, however, could not be executed; and therefore Sir George Byng resolved to return home to England, having taken on board the fleet general Stanhope, with

^m It was a great misfortune to king Charles, that he had no body about him capable of giving him good advice, or of considering what was fit to be undertaken in the situation his affairs were in. This single mistake at grasping at every thing, when scarce any thing was in his power, proved the ruin of all his undertakings; though, as this history fully shews, our sea officers did for him all he could expect, and more a great deal than the officers of any other nation would have done, as is evident from "The impartial inquiry into the management of the war with Spain," and all the histories of those times.

ⁿ Burghet's naval history, p. 760.

^o London Gazette, N^o. 4586.

colonel Harrison's regiment of foot, and a Spanish regiment of dragoons, whom he landed safely at Gibraltar on the 31st^o. On the 25th of September he sailed for England, arriving at St. Helen's, in the Royal Anne, with the Torbay, Chichester, Colchester, and Antelope, and a small prize taken by the Chichester, in her way from Gibraltar, on the 15th of October^c.

Sir Edward Whitaker was left with a pretty strong squadron in the Mediterranean, where, in the Bay of Roses, he discovered the grand convoy, intended for the French forces in the Lampourdan, which consisted of forty large vessels, laden with corn, and other provisions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the rest from putting to sea; by which the enemy was greatly distressed, and king Charles's army so happily supplied with provisions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwise they could not have done^d. And having thus attended our fleets in the Mediterranean, as long as they were employed in any considerable service, we shall now return to the exploits performed in the Soundings by lord Dursley, with the squadron under his command.

Sir George Byng, in his return from the Mediterranean, having obtained an exact detail of the strength, station, and designs of M. du Guai Trouin, sent an account of it to the lord high-admiral, who immediately dispatched it to the lord Dursley, just returned from cruising for a corn fleet, which the French expected from the Baltic. His lordship's instructions were, to give the enemy all the disturbance he could, and to take particular care of the West India trade, the intercepting of which was the service that was principally designed by M. du Guai Trouin. On the 8th of October, his lordship sailed from Plymouth, with one third rate, and two fourths, having before detached captain Vincent with six ships, to secure the West India fleet; and soon after, his lordship joined that detachment, by

^b London Gazette, N^o. 4586, 4590, 4594.
N^o. 4605, 4606. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tom. xlvii. p. 443, 556.

^c London Gazette,

^d I find this put in a much stronger light by some Dutch writers, who tell us, that admiral Whitaker, with fifteen sail of men of war, entered the Bay of Roses, and destroyed fifty French ships, laden with corn. They add, that the admiral was inclined to assist his Catholic majesty in reducing Roses, which would have left the enemy without a sea-port in Catalonia; but his advice was not followed, which was much to the prejudice of king Charles's affairs.

which

which he effectually prevented the French from succeeding in their design. On the last of October, his lordship being then off Scilly, took a large French ship from Guadaloupe*, and a small privateer. Three weeks after, he met with the Barbadoes fleet, and having sufficiently strengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of Brest, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further service.

While his lordship was thus employed, there happened, in the latter end of November, such an accident to one of the ships of his Squadron, as very well deserves our notice. Captain Hughes in the Winchester, chased a ship, which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whose commander being required to strike, he, instead of paying that respect due to the flag of England, fired both great and small shot into him; but being answered in the same manner, after an obstinate dispute (though it was very well known the Winchester was an English ship of war) the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch seamen†.

His lordship being then vice-admiral of the red, detached, on the 9th. of December, captain Hartnol, in the Restauration, with four other ships, to cruize fifteen or twenty leagues west of Scilly, to protect some East India ships, and their convoys, from Ireland; and, on the 2d of January, was going from Plymouth, with seven clean frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to proceed part of the way with Sir John Norris, towards Lisbon; his lordship, after complying with this order, remained in his appointed station till he was forced from it by foul weather; which, however, gave him an opportunity of taking a French privateer of twenty guns, and retaking the St. Peter of

* According to some accounts, this was a very considerable prize; no less than a ship of 40 guns, with a cargo worth an hundred thousand pounds. Indeed, this lord took so many, and so rich prizes, that I do not wonder some of our writers grew weary of setting them down; for I observe, that sometimes active officers are not the greatest favourites.

† I cannot find any account of this in the Dutch writers, and I must confess, I wonder that Mr. Burchet gave it a place in his history. This, however, is certain, that the behaviour of the captain was not only right in itself, but so agreeable likewise to lord Dursley, that soon after he hoisted his flag on board the Winchester.

Dublin, a rich ship, of which the enemy had made themselves masters, off Cape Clear. His lordship, considering that the East India trade were not yet arrived from Ireland, appointed three ships of his squadron to see them safe from thence.

On the 21st of February, the Kent brought into Plymouth a small privateer, and a French merchant ship; as the Restauration and August did the next day four more, which were bound from Nantz to Martinico; and not many days after, his lordship appointed the Restauration and August, to see two East India ships well into the sea; but, by contrary winds, they were forced back again. The 10th of March, the Montague took a privateer of ten guns, and his lordship having seen the East India ships, and those bound to the Isle of May, a hundred and fifty leagues from Scilly, returned to Plymouth the 9th of May; seven days after which, the Lyon, Colchester, and Litchfield, brought in four prizes, two of them privateers, the others merchant ships; when his lordship leaving the squadron, came to town, after having acquired as much reputation as it was possible for an officer to do in that difficult station^u, and where many had lost the credit for which they had toiled many years.

Before I proceed to the events in the West Indies, I shall take notice of some accidents that happened in our naval affairs, and which seem to have escaped the attention of most, if not all our historians. In the first place, I am to observe, that in the latter end of June, her majesty's ship the Fowey, of thirty-two guns, was taken in the Mediterranean, by two French men of war of greater strength^w. On the 23d of September, captain Hanway, in her majesty's ship the Plymouth, of sixty guns, arrived at Plymouth with a French man of war, which he had taken on the 20th. Captain Hanway was bound to Plymouth, in order to repair some damages he had received; and about

^u Burchet says, that he obtained leave of the lord high-admiral to come to town: but that could not be; for the lord high-admiral was removed in the beginning of November, and this was in the March following. I mention it only to shew the inaccuracy of that writer, in things with which he ought to have been best acquainted.

^w Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 648. See Taubman's history, before cited. As for the French historians, they either say nothing of this matter, or they have multiplied this into three ships, and have given the credit of taking them to captain de l'Aigle, in the Phoenix.

five leagues N. W. by N. from the Deadman, he saw this ship, and chased her two hours, before he came up with her; as soon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great vigour; and after a sharp action, which lasted above an hour, he obliged her to surrender. The French ship was called *L'Adriad*, had been fitted out from Dunkirk, commanded by the *Sieur Jacques Cashard*; having forty guns mounted, (but had ports for forty-eight); and two hundred and sixty men on board; several of the men belonging to the *Plymouth* being sick on shore, captain Hanway could make use of no more guns in this action than the enemy's ship had mounted. The captain of the French vessel, with fourteen other officers and seamen, were killed in the engagement, and sixty wounded; of the *Plymouth's* company, the captain of a company of marines on board; and seven men, were killed, and sixteen wounded *.

In the latter end of the month of October, the *West India Fleet*, being about one hundred and fifty leagues off the *Lizard*, met with a violent storm, by which they were separated from five ships of war, appointed for their convoy; the *Newcastle*, which was one of them, being so shattered, that she lost her main-mast, and with much difficulty got to Falmouth; soon after, the *Hampshire* and the *Gloucester* were attacked by the squadron of *M. du Guai Trouin*, and made a gallant defence, notwithstanding the great inequality of force; which, however, gave the ships under their convoy an opportunity to escape. At last, after seven hours fight, the *Gloucester*, a sixty-gun ship, and just rebuilt, was taken; but the *Hampshire* obliged the enemy to sheer off, and in a very shattered condition got into *Baltimore* †. On Christmas day, the *Solebay* man of war, with eight merchant ships under her convoy, bound to *Lynn* in *Norfolk*, were unfortunately lost upon *Boston-Knock*, and only

* See the *London Gazette*, N^o. 4593.

† *Pointer's chronological history*, vol. ii. p. 649. *Mercurie historique*, tom. xlvii. p. 667. *Father Daniel* places the loss of this ship, which, he says, carried seventy-two pieces of cannon, and four hundred and sixty men, on the 6th of November, N S. but all our naval historians are quite silent about it, though, I think, the captain's defence does us much more honour than the loss of a sixty gun ship can discredit.

two boats full of men saved out of all the ships ². From these disagreeable accidents, let us now return to the conduct of admiral Wager in the West Indies.

As this admiral had always been extremely careful of the trade in that part of the world, so, in the spring of the year 1709, he sent captain Hutchins, in the Portland, to protect the trading ships that were going to Porto Bello. All the latter part of the month of April, captain Hutchins lay in the Bastimentos; from whence he descried four large ships, two of fifty, and two of thirty guns, in the harbours of Porto Bello. The two largest, as he was informed by the private traders, were the Coventry, a fourth rate, taken from us by the French, and the Minion, both from Guinea. On the first of May he had intelligence, that they sailed the evening before; upon which he stood to the northward till the third, when he gained sight of them about eight in the morning. At noon, he discovered their hulls very plain, and they being to windward, bore down to him, firing some guns as they passed by; soon after which they wore, as if they designed to engage in the evening, but did not. It was little wind, and about six o'clock he tacked upon them, and keeping sight all night, near eight in the morning he came up within pistol shot of the Minion, but was obliged to fight her to leeward, because he could not possibly carry out his lee guns, though the ships of the enemy did. The Coventry, after he had been warmly engaged, got on his lee bow, and firing very smartly at his masts, did them no little damage; but he being not willing to be diverted from the Minion, plyed her very smartly, nor could she get from him, until they shot his main-top-sail-yard in two, when both of them shot a-head, he creeping after them as fast as possible in that crippled condition; in the mean while, splicing his rigging, bending new sails, and repairing other damages in the best manner he could ³.

² Remarkable accidents at sea, p. 35.

³ Mr. Burchet, as Mr. Lediard well observes, has made a great mistake in the date of this action, which he has placed thirteen months before it happened; but he gives us no authority for his correction; I have before me, the captain's own account, published in the London Gazette, N^o. 4147, which has enabled me to set all the dates right, that are every one wrong in Burchet's history.

About four in the morning a boat was perceived going from the *Minion* to the *Coventry*, so that he believed he had much disabled the former, and that by the frequent passing of the boat between them, she was sending the best part of her loading on board the other. By ten at night he had completed all his work, and the next morning was ready for a second encounter; but it proving little wind, he could not come up with them until the 6th, when before seven in the morning, he was close in with the *Coventry*, which ship hauled up her main-sail, and lay by for him. Coming nearer to her, it was observed she had many small-shot men, so that he durst not clap her on board as he had designed, but plied her with his guns; in the mean time, he received but little damage from the *Minion*. Between eleven and twelve, he brought the *Coventry's* main-mast by the board, and then her fire was much lessened; however, continuing to do what they could, at half an hour past twelve she struck; the first captain being killed, the second wounded, and a great slaughter made among the men, many of them being those who belonged to the *Minion*; whereas of ours there were but nine killed, and twelve wounded, most of whom recovered; and in the prize, there were about twenty thousand pieces of eight, great part whereof were found among the French seamen^b.

Rear-admiral Wager, upon the pressing solicitation of the merchants, sent the *Severn* and *Scarborough* to England, to convoy home the trade, because they were but weakly manned, and according to the orders he had from the lord high-admiral, when any ships under his command were so reduced by sickness, as to have no more men on board than were necessary to navigate the ship, these ships were to be sent home; and the reason of this was, that by an act of parliament, which passed soon after commodore Ker's affair, our admirals were absolutely restrained from pressing men on any account in the West Indies; so that, in truth, there was nothing left for an admiral to do in such a case, but to send home ships that were of no further use. All the time the rear-admiral continued in this station, he took care to keep a sufficient number of ships to cruize upon the enemy,

^b See a large account of this engagement, in the *London Gazette*, N^o. 4547, *Mercurie historique et politique*, tom. xlvii. p. 75.

and to protect our trade, which they did with all the success that could be wished or expected^c. But in the autumn, our admiral was ordered home; and accordingly he left the few men of war that were stationed on the coast of Jamaica under the command of captain Tudor Trevor, who was soon after relieved by captain Span. As for the rear-admiral, he had a safe and speedy voyage home, where he was received, on his coming from St. Helens, in the month of November, with all the respect imaginable; the letters from the West Indies having, contrary to custom, done the greatest honour to the vigilance of our navy in those parts, while under his direction; which is a clear confutation of a modern maxim at a certain board, that it is impossible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad^d.

Before I close this account of our affairs in America, it is necessary I should say something of a misfortune that befel us in Newfoundland; and the rather, because none of our historians have been particular about it, for which reason, I am obliged to take what I have to relate, intirely upon the credit of a French writer. The Sieur de Saintovide, the king's lieutenant at Placentia, took the fort of St. John, on the east side of Newfoundland, by escalade, in which action the governor was wounded, and made prisoner, as were the soldiers of the garrison, consisting of about a hundred men. This, my author says, happened on the 1st of January, 1709, and the next day informs us, that the fort at the mouth of the harbour, built on a rock, and extremely well fortified, surrendered also, and the

^c The rear admiral having appointed the Portland to see some merchant ships through the windward passage, she returned with a French prize, taken near Cape St. Nicholas, worth about six thousand pounds. Captain Vernon also, in the Jersey, took, in January, a Spanish sloop laden with tobacco, and ret-ol, from two French sloops, a Guinea ship with four hundred negroes. Captain Hardy of the Roebuck brought in a brigantine, partly laden with indigo, taken at Petit Guavas, which he met on the north side of Hispaniola, as she was going from thence to Port de Paix, or Port François; her master pretended he belonged to Curaçon, and produced a paper from the Dutch governor there, empowering him to trade any where in the West Indies.

^d Burchet's naval history, p. 711. Ledlard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 839. Annals of queen Anne, p. 408. Her Majesty, soon after his return to England, conferring on him the honour of knighthood.

garrison, consisting of sixty men, were made prisoners of war. This affair must have been attended with very bad consequences for the present; but, as we shall see, these were not only remedied in the succeeding year, but the French settlements, in their turn, were in a manner totally destroyed*. But it is now time for us to return home, and to conclude the history of this year with a short account of the alterations made with respect to the management of naval affairs.

The earl of Pembroke, finding the sole care and direction of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had discharged his office of lord high-admiral in every respect to the general content of all parties, very prudently and virtuously resolved to lay it down†. A great deal of pains were taken to divert his lordship from this resolution, but to no purpose; he thought the business might be better done by one who had greater experience in maritime affairs; and thereupon, this high office was offered to that gallant sea-officer the earl of Orford, who absolutely refused it, though he was willing to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. Her majesty, therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, thought proper to direct a commission, whereby she constituted and appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, Esqrs. commissioners, for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom the queen bestowed a yearly pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, payable out of the revenue of the Post-office, in consideration of his eminent services‡.

Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion, *viz.* on the 12th of November, 1709, her majesty being pleased

* Journal historique de Louis XIV. par Père Daniel, p. 256, 257. He informs us, that there were vast quantities of artillery and ammunition found in these two forts, which I think a little improbable; but that our settlements were in a great measure ruined, seems to be confirmed by several of our own political pamphlets, published this year.

† Burnet's history of his own times, vol. II. p. 537. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. II. p. 427. Annals of queen Anne, for the year 1709, p. 205, & Burnet. Boyer's life of Queen Anne, p. 403. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. II. p. 626. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4611.

to appoint a gentleman who had been long laid aside, viz. Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; the lord Dursley vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, Esq; rear-admiral of the red. Sir John Jennings admiral; Sir Edward Whitaker vice-admiral of the white. And, Sir John Norris, admiral; and John Baker, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue^b.

The parliament met, and the queen laid before them the proceedings of the last year, and directed an account of the expences of the government, both civil and military, to be sent them from the respective offices. The business of Dr. Sacheverel took up the best part of the session; but it happened luckily, that the supplies were first granted, amounting in the whole to six millions, one hundred eighty-four thousand, one hundred sixty-six pounds, seven shillings; in order to the raising of which, a lottery was established, of one million five hundred thousand pounds, of which six hundred thousand pounds was subscribed on the 20th of January, being the first day the books were opened, and all the rest in less than six weeks^c. This was sufficient to shew the strength of public credit at that time, as also the disposition of the commons, to continue the war till the ends of it were answered; but, after Sacheverel's trial, it was soon perceived, that this ardour began to abate, which we find attributed by our historians to many different causes.

The chief, however, seems to have been the management of the French king, who, by publishing to all the world the mighty offers of peace that he had made to the allies, and dressing up in the strongest colours the hard conditions which

^b B-yer's life of queen Anne, p. 403. The complete history of Europe, for 1709, p. 315. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 427.

^c Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 537. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 335. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 429. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 193. These immense grants of parliament struck the French prodigiously; for while their credit was low, or in a manner quite gone, ours was in its zenith. And, without question, if ever our credit should fall, either in respect to money, or the reputation of our government, the French will gain as great an ascendancy over us, as we then had over them; this we mention as a point worthy of strict consideration here, because, in France it is but too well ascertained already.

the allies would have imposed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impossible, and calculated rather to prevent, than promote the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe. By these representations, he raised great compassion among the neutral powers, excited divisions among the allies, and caused great jealousies and heart-burnings, both here and in Holland. This did not hinder our ministry from pursuing their former schemes, and endeavouring to restore a martial spirit, by the success of their designs on all sides; and as they had hitherto found their conduct most liable to be attacked on the subject of the war in Spain, they took all imaginable care to issue very early the sums granted for that service, which amounted to about a million; but it was resolved, since there was no immediate occasion for great fleets in the Mediterranean, to recall Sir Edward Whitaker, and to leave admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to protect the trade, and obey the orders of king Charles III^k.

Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral of the fleet, being in the Soundings with a considerable force, saw all the several fleets of our outward-bound merchant-men safe into the sea, and having sent them forward on their respective voyages, upon the 27th of July, he remained cruizing for two days afterwards, about sixty-eight leagues S W. by W. from the Lizard. On the 29th at noon, he discovered 13 sail N. E. of him. He order-

^k As I have been hitherto very particular in relation to the war in Spain, which we certainly carried on with great vigour, though under infinite disadvantages, I shall here lay before the reader, at once, the several sums granted for this service :

	£.	s.	d.
In 1703, —————	215,692	2	0
1704, —————	320,481	11	0
1705, —————	476,717	15	10
1706, —————	726,740	15	10
1707, —————	998,322	11	10
1708, —————	1,248,956	12	2½
1709, —————	1,217,083	0	4
1710, —————	1,276,035	16	2
	6,480,043	3	2½

ed the Kent, Assurance, and York, to chase a-head; and followed with the rest of the ships under his command; but the weather proving hazy, he could not discover next morning more than one merchant ship. He received advice, however, before noon, that the Assurance had made prize of one of the enemy's vessels, upon which he immediately sent his boat to bring the master of her on board him; which was accordingly done¹.

This Frenchman informed the admiral, that the ships he had seen the day before, were 14 merchant-men, bound for the banks of Newfoundland, and Martinico, under convoy of the Superbe, a French man of war of 56 guns, and the Concord of 30: that the former, having seen them into the sea, was to cruise in the Soundings, and the latter to proceed to Guinea; and that, on their perceiving the English fleet, the Concord bore away with the merchant-men under his convoy. Soon after this the Kent, commanded by captain Robert Johnson, came up with, and engaged the Superbe, for the space of an hour, when she struck; in which action captain Johnson behaved like a gallant officer, and an experienced seaman; for, as he attacked the French ship without waiting for other ships, so she was taken by him without any assistance, although she had a greater number of men than the Kent. Both of them were very much shattered in the fight; but so good a sailer was the Superbe; that, had she not been three months off the ground, she would in all probability have escaped. This ship had taken several valuable prizes from us before, and our cruisers had often chased her without success; but falling thus into our possession, she was registered in the British navy, being a very beautiful vessel, and not above eighteen months old^m.

Sir Edward Whitaker was at Port Mahon with his squadron, when he received the order before-mentioned; and sailing from thence on the 27th of March, he arrived at Lisbon on the 4th of April, with three ships of the third rate, where he made some stay, in order to take the homeward-bound merchant-men

¹ Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. 30. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome xlix. p. 221. Boyer's life of queen Anne. ^m Burchet's naval history, p. 765. The complete history of Europe, for the year 1710. Lediard, Oldmixon.

under his protection; and then sailing on the 29th of that month, he arrived safely on the first of June with our own, and the Dutch and Portugal fleet, and their convoys, in our channel^a. As for vice-admiral Baker, having conducted the transports to the several ports to which they were bound, he, in his return to Barcelona, got sight, off the Faro of Messina, of four large ships, with several settees under their convoy; this was on the 2d of May, and he chased them with all the diligence possible. The next morning captain Masters, in the *Fame*, came up with, and took one of the ships, and soon after captain Cleveland, in the *Suffolk*, took another, called *Le Galliard*, of fifty-six guns; but the remaining two, which were galleys, escaped, with most of the settees. The vice-admiral having seen the transports safe into Barcelona, and having received advice, that Sir John Norris, with a Squadron under his command, was at Terragona, and that he was come to command in the Mediterranean, resolved to join him as soon as possible, in order to execute any orders he brought with him from England, or to contribute, as far as in his power lay, to the support of king Charles's affairs, which were now in a more flourishing condition than they had been for some years past. We will take notice next of admiral Norris's instructions, and of what, in pursuance of them, he performed during the time he commanded in these parts^b.

The grand fleet designed for this year's service in the Mediterranean, sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of January, under the command of Sir John Norris, who having seen the *Virginia*, and other merchantmen bound to the West Indies, safe into the sea, arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th of March, where he was joined by Sir Edward Whitaker, and a Dutch rear-admiral. Immediately after his arrival, he detached three English, and two Dutch men of war, with the public money, recruits, and ammunition, to Barcelona, in order to receive his Catholic majesty's commands. While the admiral remained

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 764. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome xlviii. p. 645, tome xlix. p. 69.

^b Burchet's naval history, p. 768. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome xlviii. p. 197. *Annals of queen Anne*.

here, he had the mortification of hearing, that two of our men of war had been taken by the French; with this alleviating circumstance, however, that both officers and men had behaved bravely, and that the misfortune was entirely owing to the enemy's having a superior force^p.

Not long after, he received more welcome intelligence, viz. that two of our ships had taken a French man of war of sixty guns, called the Moor, a very fine ship, and which was afterwards registered in the list of our royal navy^q. After making the necessary dispositions for the many services that were required from the fleet, Sir John sailed on the 7th of April, from Port Mahon, and arrived on the 11th at Barcelona. There he was informed by the king of Spain, that the enemy had a design, either upon Sardinia or Naples, and that the duke de 'Eursis, a Genoese nobleman, who commanded a fleet of gallees for the service of king Philip, was at sea, in order to exc-

^p These two ships were the Pembroke, of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Rumfey, and the Faulcon, of thirty-two guns, commanded by captain Constable. They were cruising to the southward of Nice, when, on the 29th of December, they discovered five sail of ships, which they took to be part of Sir Edward Whitaker's Squadron. However, they stood towards them, but perceiving they had French colours, and two of them standing in for Antibes, they made the signal appointed by Sir Edward Whitaker, which was answered by the enemy, two of their ships hoisted English colours, and the third Dutch, and immediately bore down upon them. Our captains were not, however, deceived, but stood on their guard, and when they discovered them to be very large ships, made all the sail from them they could; but they having a brisk gale, and our ships but little wind, the Toulouse, a seventy-gun ship, came up with, and attacked the Pembroke, and in less than half an hour the other two, one carrying sixty-six guns, and the other fifty, attacked her likewise, and having taken her, pursued, came up with, and took the Faulcon. Captain Rumfey was killed in the engagement, in which he lost one hundred and forty men, her mizen-mast was brought by the board, and all her rigging torn to pieces, before the officers agreed to surrender. Captain Constable, in the Faulcon, had a shot through his shoulder, and yet he never stirred from his post, or consented to strike his ensign, till he had but sixteen sound men left out of his crew.

^q This ship was an excellent sailer, and had done a great deal of mischief to our trade. Captain Thomas Long, in the Breda, a stout seventy-gun ship, came up with her, about forty leagues S. W. by W. off Cape Roxent, and in a short and brisk dispute her commander was killed. Soon after the Warfight, captain Justas Crow, came under her quarter, and was ready to lay her on board; and then she struck.

ecute this enterprize. His majesty likewise informed him, that he was in great want of the German succours, that were promised him from Italy. The admiral resolved to do his best towards answering both these demands of his Catholic majesty, and having first landed the viceroy in Sardinia, where he found all things quiet, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, in order to embark the succours before-mentioned. On the 6th of May, Sir John Norris arrived at Leghorn, and having there provided for the security of our Levant trade, which was much disturbed by monsieur de L'Aigle; he sailed from thence to Vado Bay, where, while the Germans were embarking, he had intelligence, that the Italian galleys had actually taken on board a body of upwards of two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of Sardinia¹.

Upon this, Sir John Norris called a council of war, and in pursuance of the resolutions taken there, he, on the first of June, detached four men of war to convoy the transports to Barcelona; he likewise detached five English and four Dutch men of war, to cruize in the height of Toulon, for a convoy which the French expected from the Levant. The same day he sailed with the rest of the confederate fleet, with two imperial regiments, to go to the assistance of Sardinia, upon certain advice, that the duke de Turfis was sailed with his galleys, and, as we observed before, some land forces on board, to invade that island. The 2d they came before La Bastida, in Corsica, and saw a little French merchant ship coming from the Archipelago, which, upon the approach of our fleet, retired under the cannon of that place; upon this, admiral Norris sent some boats which brought away the ship, but the men made their escape on shore. A bark coming from the shore, brought the admiral advice, that the duke de Turfis, having continued some days at Porto Vecchio, was sailed to Bonifacio, with a design to execute his intended enterprize against Sardinia; whereupon they sailed again; on the 5th came into the bay of Terra Nova, in Sardinia, wherein they found four tartanes of the enemy, which had landed there four hundred men, and sixty

¹ Burchet's naval history, p. 769. Complete history of Europe, for 1710, p. 509.
 Co. umna rostrata, p. 289.

officers, under the command of the count de Castillo. They took, the same day in the evening, those four ships, and understanding by the prisoners, that the count, with his forces, was but two miles off upon that shore, the admirals resolved to land some forces to attack them, which was done the next day. They marched directly to Terra Nova, where the enemy were posted; but the count de Castillo seeing it was in vain for him to offer any resistance, surrendered at discretion; so that they took four hundred and fifty soldiers prisoners, with sixty-three officers, and several persons of quality, natives of Sardinia; who, being disaffected to the German government, had joined the enemy, or had gone with the count de Castillo in this expedition, in hopes that their interest would occasion an insurrection in favour of king Philip V^t.

Their enterprize having succeeded beyond expectation, and there being no danger of any rebellion on that side, the troops returned on board the 7th, and the admirals resolved to go in quest of the duke de Turfis, who, according to the report of the prisoners, was sailed to another bay, on the opposite side of the island, to land the rest of his forces. On the 8th, they came, by favour of a fresh gale, into the canal of Bonifacio, where they were informed, by a Neapolitan felucca, that the duke de Turfis, was sailed the night before from thence, with intention to retire into the gulf of Ajazzio, in Corsica; whereupon they made all the sail they could, in hopes of coming up with him in that bay; but in the morning of the 9th, when they came into the same, they were informed that the duke de Turfis, foreseeing they would pursue him, was sailed thence the night before, with his gallies, having left in this gulf eight large barks, with five hundred soldiers on board, and the greatest part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, in hopes that they would not take them in a neutral place.

But Sir John Norris thought fit to seize them, and signified to the republic of Genoa, that the queen of Great Britain, his mistress, could not but express on all occasions the highest resentment against them, for having permitted the duke de Turfis,

¹ Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 77. *Mercurie historique et politique l'Annee, 1710, tome xlix.* Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, v. l. ii.

one of their subjects, to make, in their dominions, such an armament designed against one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of Spain her ally; and that, looking upon their permission or connivance as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoese governor, to whom these representations were made, answered with as much submission as could be expected; promised that he would not supply the duke de Turfus, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested, that the admiral would not land any troops upon the island. The admiral having considered his request, and being sensible that it would be to very little purpose to attempt following the enemy into the mountains, thought proper to grant it, and thereupon proceeded immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the king of Spain desiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at Terragona, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for vice-admiral Baker to follow; which orders, as I have already shewn, he punctually obeyed^t.

The inhabitants of the Cevennes having given the king of France a great deal of disturbance, and having numbers of their countrymen in foreign service, it was proposed to the British ministry, that notwithstanding the miscarriage of former attempts, something should be again undertaken in their favour; and to enforce this advice, it was observed, that the Camisars, then in arms, were within fifteen leagues of Montpellier, and that it was possible to land our troops at Port Cette, within a single league of that city. Upon this, the ministry themselves, conceiving such an expedition might disconcert the enemies designs in Spain, or at least facilitate king Charles's enterprizes in Catalonia, resolved to send a gentleman to Spain, thoroughly instructed as to the whole of this affair, with orders to propose it to general Stanhope, and Sir John Norris, upon whose approbation, and the consent of the king of Spain, the design was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then on the coast of Catalonia. It must be allowed, that this project was

^t Burchet's naval history, p. 771. Columna rostrata, p. 289. The complete history of Europe, for 1710, p. 519.

very well formed, and, according to the best informations that I have been able to obtain, if our troops had actually fixed themselves for three days at Cette, we might, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, have given the French king more trouble than he had ever met with from any of our projects during the war. For his own subjects, then in arms against him, were a bold, daring, hardy people, and, with a very little encouragement from us, would have formed an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, to whom all the French exiles, in every part of Europe, would have resorted; and, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not easy to conceive, what consequences this affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have spread^u.

On the arrival of this gentleman from England, general Stanhope, who was a very enterprising officer, eagerly embraced the scheme, and prevailed upon king Charles to permit a body of troops, though indeed it was but a very small one, to embark on board the fleet. This resolution being taken, was communicated to Sir John Norris, who, on the 6th of July, held a great council of war, in which it was resolved, to send an express to the duke of Savoy, and to embark the forces immediately, that an affair of such importance might not suffer by delay. The command of these troops, which consisted of no more than the regiment of colonel Stanhope, and three hundred men from Port Mahon, was given to major-general Sciffan, a native of Languedoc, and a very good officer. The fleet sailed from Barcelona on the ninth, and arrived before Cette on the 19th. The next morning, by break of day, the troops, which were but seven hundred men, and who had landed the evening before, without any opposition, marched directly towards the town. Sir John Norris appointed some ships to batter the fort at the mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and soon after both town and fort surrendered; as in the evening of the next day did the town of Agde; so that now we had firm footing in the enemy's country: and this expedition had a more promising appearance than any that had been hi-

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 772. The complete history of Europe for 1710, p. 544. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii.

thereto undertaken against France; our only misfortune was, that there were so few men spared for so important a design *.

On the 17th, major-general Seiffan received advice, that the duke of Roquelaure was advancing with 400 dragoons, and 4000 militia, to ford the lake, and re-possess Cette; upon which the major-general thought proper to leave a hundred and forty men to secure the bridge of Agde, and marched with the rest of the forces to oppose the enemy; writing at the same time to the admirals Norris and Sommersdyke, to desire them to send all the boats of the fleet, with as many men as they could spare, into the Etang or Lake, to attack the enemy in their passage through the same; which was done accordingly. The duke of Roquelaure, seeing his design prevented by these precautions, returned to Mezé, and the admirals and general detached a major, with a hundred and fifty men, to reinforce the detachment left to secure the bridge of Agde; but, at the same time advice came, that this important post had been abandoned upon a false alarm. Nevertheless, it was resolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to Agde with shallops by sea, in order to regain that post; but the very moment that this was to be executed, a strong wind happened to rise, which obliged them to abandon that design, and direct all their care to secure Cette.

In short, the duke de Noailles, arrived at Agde, the same day that they were to return thither. They began then to think of the defence of the mountain of Cette, and posted there the few troops they had in the vineyards, surrounded with a slight wall; but with orders to retire, yet not before the arrival of the enemy. The officer, who commanded fifty men, did not rightly apprehend this order, or else he was surprised; for scarce had a few French dragoons fired upon our men, before they surrendered to them at discretion. The other troops retired in disorder, though the necessary dispositions had been made to support them in their retreat, and the several officers did all that could be expected from their courage and experience to rally the troops. While these were re-imbarking on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort, with fifty men to cover the retreat. It was not accessible, but on the side of the mole, and was defended by two pieces of

* Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 459. Column: rostrati, p. 239. *Mercurius historicus et politicus*, tom. xlix. p. 285, 286.

cannon in the place that leads to it; and besides, the enemy had no boats. The shallops were just by the fort the whole morning; but admiral Norris had no sooner put off to go on board his ship, but the enemy sent word to the captain, that if he did not immediately surrender the fort, he must expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and surrendered at discretion, even before the troops were re-embarked*. The duke de Roquelaure sent them back the captain who had so ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher who had been released before; but the captain was set a-shore again, and told, that since he had been so complaisant to M. de Roquelaure, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was but reasonable he should be near the duke's person, and treated according to his merit†.

Thus ended an expedition, from which much was expected, and which had no other good effect, except obliging the enemy to recal a considerable body of their troops from Rouffillon; in doing this the duke de Noailles made a very remarkable march, of which the French have boasted excessively. Sir John Norris having re-embarked the forces, sailed on the 19th, and shewed himself off Toulon and Marseilles; some days after, he stood into the road of Hieres, where he discovered a French fly-boat, carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of Port Croix; upon which he instantly detached some English and

* See the relation of this descent, in a letter from on board the Dutch admiral, dated from the confederate fleet at Vado, August the 7th, 1710, in the annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 83.

† Father Daniel gives us a very pompous account of this business: the allies, says he, appeared before Port de Cotte, with twenty-five men of war, and immediately made themselves masters of the place. The duke de Roquelaure, who commanded in Languedoc, had but three troops of horse, and therefore he sent directly to the duke de Noailles for assistance, who, in the space of three days, brought 900 horse, and 1000 grenadiers into the neighbourhood of Agde; from whence they forced the enemy to retire immediately, with the loss of three or four hundred men. He confesses, however, that it was an affair of great consequence. Since, if the English had become masters of that port, they might have been able to support the rebels in France, which must have brought the greatest miseries upon that kingdom. The most extraordinary thing, he tells us, is, that the French lost only one grenadier, and a few horses: but even this was too much for other French writers to own, and therefore they leave out the horses, and tell us, that the grenadier killed himself, his piece going off as it was slung at his back.

Dutch frigates, under the command of captain Stepney, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This was performed with great vigour, and in a short time the ship was abandoned, and the lowest of the three forts; upon this our boats rowed hastily to board the vessel, into which our men had scarce entered, before the ship, by a train laid for that purpose by the enemy, was blown up, and thirty-five of our people either killed or wounded. This misfortune was soon followed by another; for our ships that were cruizing off Toulon, being distressed for water, sailed to an adjacent island for a supply, and in the mean time a great corn fleet, for which they were waiting, took that opportunity to enter the port of Toulon.

On the 14th of August, Sir John Norris returned to Port Mahon, where he received the welcome news of the great victory of Sarragossa. He then expected to have sailed on an expedition for the service of his Catholic majesty; but was disappointed, partly through some delay made by the troops in embarking, and partly by the haste the Dutch were in to return home; so that, finding it impracticable to do any further service for the present, he ordered most of his ships to be cleaned; which being performed, he sailed on the 30th of October from Port Mahon, and on the 6th of November he took three French ships from Newfoundland. After this, he secured the Turkey fleet, and then attempted to annoy the enemy in the Bay of Roses, where he met with such a storm, as drove the Resolution on shore, on the coast of Catalonia, near to Barcelona, where she was lost, notwithstanding all imaginable care to prevent it, and the rest of the fleet was forced into the harbour of Port Mahon^a.

His Catholic majesty's affairs had by this time taken a new and unfavourable turn, and therefore his majesty wrote in pressing terms to Sir John Norris, in order to engage him to sail over to the Italian coast, to bring, with the utmost expedition, such troops as could be spared from thence for his service. Sir John sailed from Barcelona, and arrived on the 19th of March in the bay of Vado^b; on the 22d following, the Severne, Lion,

^a Barchet's naval history, book v. chap. 31. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 846, 847. Annals of queen Anne. London Gazette, N^o. 4820.

^b Mercure historique et politique, tom. i. p. 476. London Gazette, N^o. 4836.

and Lime, made the signal of seeing four ships; upon which the admiral ordered the Nassau and Exeter to give them chase, and upon hearing a great firing of guns, detached the Dartmouth and Winchelsea to their assistance. On the 27th, the Severne and Lime came into the road, and captain Pudner, who commanded the former, gave Sir John Norris an account, that, in conjunction with the Lion and Lime, he had, the day before, engaged four French ships, from sixty to forty guns, for above two hours, and then the French crowded all the sail they could, and made away; the Severne, being disabled, returned with the Lime into Vado road; but captain Galfridus Walpole, who commanded the Lion, continued the chase; though he had his right arm shot away, about forty men killed and wounded, and his ship much torn by the enemy's shot. The Exeter, commanded by captain Raymond, came up with one of the Frenchmen, and, after a brisk engagement of above two hours, took her; but he was so disabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the Pembroke, which had been taken from us a year before, that was, while in our service, a sixty-gun ship; but, at this time she mounted no more than fifty^b.

Sir John having given the necessary directions for embarking the troops on board an hundred and twenty transports, in order to escort them to Barcelona, received advice, while he was waiting for a wind, that Sir John Jennings was arrived at Port Mahon, in order to command in the Mediterranean. We have already, contrary to our usual method, carried this part of the history beyond the bounds of the year 1710, which was occasioned by a desire of preserving perspicuity, which otherwise could not have been so well done; and, for the same reason, we shall proceed with Sir John Norris's conduct, though it will carry us almost to the close of the year 1711: which, however, is better than breaking the thread of the narration, to resume it again at a great distance of time; and this, too, when all that can be said about it will fall within a very narrow compass.

^b Burchet's naval history, p. 774. Lediard's naval history, vol. II. p. 347. London Gazette, N^o. 4837.

He sailed from Vado for Port Mahon, in April^c; but was forced by a storm into the road of Arasio, where, with great difficulty, he procured forage for the horses, and where he lay wind-bound till the 4th of May, and then proceeded to Barcelona, arrived there, and landed the troops on the eighth, where, having consulted with the duke of Argyle, and taken care to send a strong squadron to Genoa for the public money, he thought next of proceeding home with the Turkey trade; and, with that view, ordered captain Cornwall to escort them to Gibraltar, or Lisbon, and there wait for his arrival. This being performed, he followed them as soon as the king of Spain's affairs would permit; and sailing with them under his convoy from Lisbon on the 15th of September, he arrived with them off the Isle of Wight the 8th of October, 1711, with four ships of the third rate, seven of the fourth, three of the fifth, two bomb-vessels, two store-ships, and an hospital-ship; and from thence held on his course to the Downs, leaving the command of the fleet that continued in the Mediterranean to Sir John Jennings, of whose proceedings we shall speak in their proper place; but, at present, it is requisite that we should give an account, as we promised, of the expedition set on foot for restoring our affairs in Newfoundland^d.

The check we had received the year before, had given the ministry great disquiet. They found themselves, at this juncture, in a very critical situation, and were therefore under a kind of necessity of providing against any new clamours, which they were sensible would be set up, in case the French were not effectually rooted out in a place which so nearly affected our merchants, and upon which their commerce with Spain, Portugal, and Italy, so much depended. In order, therefore, to provide

^c Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. 32. The complete history of Europe, for 1711, p. 220, 221. London Gazette, N^o. 4844, 4846, 4863. There are various accounts of the loss sustained in this storm; the French reported it as very considerable; some say there were only three barks destroyed, two of which sunk at sea, and the other was forced by stress of weather to put into Marseilles.

^d Burchet's naval history, p. 775. Annals of queen Anne, for the year 1711, vol. x. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 574. London Gazette, N^o. 4912.

in the best manner possible for so important an undertaking, they made choice of two officers of great worth and experience, one of them to command the squadron, the other the land forces that were to be put on board it. The former was captain George Martin, and the latter, colonel Francis Nicholson, who was sent to Boston in New England, in order to provide every thing necessary for the expedition, and to draw together such forces as could be spared from that colony, so that they might be able to embark as soon as the squadron should arrive^c.

This squadron consisted of the Dragon, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by captain George Martin; the Falmouth, of fifty guns, by captain Walter Rydel; the Leostaff, of thirty-two guns, by captain George Gordon; the Feverham, of thirty-six guns, by captain Robert Paston, and the Star bomb-ketch, by captain Thomas Rochfort; to which was afterwards added, the Chester, a fifty-gun ship, commanded by captain Thomas Matthews. Captain Martin arriving in New England, found all things properly adjusted for the execution of this enterprize against the French settlement, without delay; in consequence of which, he proceeded from Nantasket road the 18th of September, with the Dragon, Falmouth, Leostaff, Feverham, and Star bomb-vessel, the Provence galley, two hospital-ships, thirty-one transports, and two thousand land forces, having sent the Chester before, to endeavour to intercept any supplies which the enemy might attempt to send to Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia; and on the 24th, in the afternoon, he anchored at the entrance of the harbour. A council of war was called, and, pursuant to what was agreed, the small embarkations and

^c Burchet's naval history, p. 765. Columna rostrata, p. 294. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 468. Mercure historique et politique, tome I. p. 77. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 191. See the journal of an expedition performed by the forces of our sovereign lady Anne, under the command of the honourable Francis Nicholson, general and commander in chief, in the year 1710, for the reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia, or any other place in those parts of America, then in possession of the French. London, 1711, 4to.

boats were gotten ready to receive the men, and put them on shore^f.

Things being in this situation, on the 25th of September, about six in the morning, colonel Vetch, and colonel Reading, with fifty men each, together with Mr. Forbes, the engineer, went on shore to view the ground for landing the troops; and soon after colonel Nicholson himself, with a body of men, actually landed; the enemy firing at the boats in which they were, from their batteries of cannon and mortars, but with no great success. Colonel Vetch, with five hundred on the north side, so lined the shore, as that he protected the landing of the cannon, ammunition, and stores, and the mortar being fixed on board the bomb-vessel, she driving up with the tide of flood, within cannon-shot of the fort, both that day and the next, bombarded the enemy therein, which did in a great measure induce them to capitulate, sooner than otherwise they would have done: not but that they were very much galled in the attempts made on them, and the warm fire from the artillery on shore; but the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the bomb-vessel was not able to throw any shells, by reason of hard gales of wind^g.

At a council of war, held on the first of October, two letters, which were received from monsieur Subercase, directed to colonel Nicholson, were taken into consideration, together with

^f This expedition, which was one of the most fortunate that we had undertaken in this part of the world, owed its success in a great measure to the conduct of colonel Francis Nicholson, who maintained a perfect agreement with commodore Martin, and the rest of the sea officers, who, on their part, omitted nothing that was demanded for the use of the troops, and supported them very cordially upon all occasions, with their boats and men. Another thing that contributed not a little to this happy event was, the troops being seasoned that were sent upon this expedition, and having officers well acquainted, not only with their duty, but with the climate, and situation of places; which, in affairs of this nature, are circumstances of the utmost consequence.

^g It may not be amiss to remark here, that this place, now Annapolis, has a very fine basin, capable of holding a large fleet; that it commands a valuable country, which settled, would prove a cover and protection to New England; and that it was at this juncture a nest of French privateers, and thence styled their American Dunkirk. These circumstances shew the value of this conquest.

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the answers which he had made thereunto; and the preliminaries being agreed on, the governor marching out of the fort, with the garrison^b, our troops took possession of it soon after,
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^b This capitulation is worth the reader's notice, inasmuch as it contains the terms upon which we were put in possession of the province of Acadia, as the French call it, or, as we style it, the province of Nova Scotia. The articles were,

1. That the garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying.

2. That there shall be a sufficient number of ships and provisions to transport the said garrison to Rochelle, or Rochfort, by the shortest passage; where they shall be furnished with passports for their return.

3. That I, colonel Nicholson, may take out six guns, and two mortars, such as I shall think fit.

4. That the officers shall carry out all their effects of what sort soever; except they do agree to the selling of them, the payment of which to be *bona fide*.

5. That the inhabitants, within cannon shot of the fort of Port-Royal, shall remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in case they are not desirous to go before; they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her sacred majesty of Great Britain.

6. That a vessel be provided for the privateers belonging to the islands of America, for their transportation thither.

7. That those that are desirous to go for Placentia, in Newfoundland, shall have leave by the nearest passage.

8. That the Canadians, or those that are desirous to go thither, may, during the space of one year.

9. That the effects, ornaments, utensils of the chapel and hospital, shall be delivered to the almoner.

10. I promise to deliver the fort of Port-Royal into the hands of Francis Nicholson, Esq; for the queen of Great Britain, &c. within three days after the ratification of this present treaty; with all the effects belonging to the king, as guns, mortars, bombs, balls, powder, and all other small arms.

11. I will discover, upon my faith, all the mines, fougasses, and casemates.

12. All the articles of this present treaty shall be executed upon good faith, without difficulty, and signed by each other, at her majesty of Great Britain's camp, before Port-Royal fort, the second day of October, in the ninth year of her majesty's reign, *annoque Domini 1710*.

FRANCIS NICHOLSON. -

SUBRECASE.

Memorandum. The general declared, that within cannon-shot of Port-Royal, in the fifth article aforesaid, is to be understood, three English miles round

with drums beating, and colours flying; where hoisting the union flag, they, in honour of her majesty, called the place Annapolis Royal; and a sufficient number of men being left therein, the ships and troops proceeded to New England as soon as all things necessary were settled; from whence captain Martin departed, not long after, in order to put in execution the remaining part of his instructions, and prepare for his return to England.

These were not all the misfortunes that befel the French in this part of the world, for our men of war and privateers took this year near fifty of their ships. The Portland and the Valeur took, in their passage to Newfoundland, two very rich prizes, value thirty thousand pounds. But not long after, the Valeur was surprized in harbour, and taken by the French, and in the month of August, captain John Aldred, in the Rochester; captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severne; and captain George Purvis, in the Portland, visited all the French harbours on the north side of Newfoundland, and in a manner totally destroyed them^l. Of all these transactions, however, the accurate father Daniel says not one word; and, indeed, as to the latter part of this relation Mr. Burchet is silent also, though it was certainly of very great consequence to the trade and interest of Great Britain^k.

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round the fort, to be henceforward called Annapolis Royal; and the inhabitants within the said three miles to have the benefit of that article. Which persons, male and female, comprehended in the said article, according to a list of their names given in to the general by Mr. Allen, amount to four hundred and eighty-one persons.

^l The complete history of Europe, for the year 1710, p. 388. Annals of the reign of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 424.

^k An account of the execution done by this Squadron.

Harbours names,	French ships names.	Men.	Guns.	Tons.
La Crouche,	La Comtesse d'Evereux,	75	16	200 taken.
Ditto,	La Couronne,	70	14	200. burnt.
Carouze,	Le Marquis du Roy,	20	18	400 taken.
Ditto,	Le Comte de Bonrepos,	120	23	400 burnt.
Ditto,	L'Aigle Noire,	70	12	200 taken.
Petit Maître,	François Maire,	80	18	250 ditto.
Great St. Julian,	François de la Paix,	120	30	400 ditto.
Little St. Julian,	St. Pierre,	90	20	290 escaped.
Ditto,	—————	30	12	—— ditto.

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We are now to return home, in order to take notice of what happened here, relating to the affairs of the navy; and as these are commonly influenced by a total change in the ministry, it may not be amiss to observe, that, in the beginning of the month of August, the earl of Godolphin was removed from being lord high-treasurer, and that high office was put into commission¹. This great change was quickly followed by others of the same nature; for, about six weeks after, Edward earl of Orford having resigned his place of first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, the queen appointed Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Esq; Paul Methuen, Esq; and John Aislabe, Esq; lords-commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain. But this commission did not continue long in this situation, for in the month of December, Sir James Wishart, and George Clarke, Esq; were appointed lords-commissioners of the admiralty, in the room of George Doddington, and Paul Methuen; Esqrs^m.

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, and, on the 27th, the commons chose William Bromley, Esq; of Worcester-shire, for their speaker. The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very pathetic terms, and the commons, in their address, promised her majesty to take proper care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted 40,000 men for the sea service, for the year 1711, and 120,000*l.* for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted, that the sum of 5,130,539*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* be granted for payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land forces to Michaelmas 1710, exclusive of the register-office; and, on

All the fish, oil, staves, vats, boats, fishing-tackle, &c. of the above-mentioned ships fell into our hands, and were either taken or destroyed by us. And the two ships which escaped, left even their anchors and cables, and some of their sails behind.

¹ Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 551. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 446. Conduct of Sarah, duchess dowager of Marlborough, p. 260.

^m Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 553. The complete history of Europe, for 1710, p. 570. Mémoires historiques et politiques, tome xlii. p. 444. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 493.

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the 26th of the said month, they resolved that 103,303*l*. 11*s*. 4*d*. be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who were sufferers by the French invasion, and who have settled, or shall re-settle their plantations in the said islands^a. I do not well know, whether I ought to add, as an instance of the care of parliament in respect to our commerce, that this year an act was passed for incorporating a company to carry on a trade to the South-Seas^b. While these regulations were making by the legislature, her majesty took care to provide for action; and in consequence thereof, appointed Sir John Leake, rear-admiral of Great Britain, to be admiral and commander in chief of her fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Esq; at the same time she appointed Sir Thomas Hardy rear-admiral of the blue; and some time after Sir George Byng was made admiral of the white. These necessary circumstances premised, we may now proceed to the naval operations of the next year^c.

The grand fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake, had very little to do. It was intended for the defence of our coast, and for keeping the enemy in awe, which was very effectually performed; for the French king, from the many misfortunes he had met with, was utterly incapable of equipping any capital ships; and therefore, contenting himself with sending out, as he had done for some years past, small squadrons to annoy our trade, he seemed no longer to look on France as a maritime power^d. Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron, consisting of four fourth rates, two fifths, and two sixths, to block up the port of Dunkirk. On the 21st of May he arrived before that port, into which he forced two privateers of twenty guns each, and a dogger which carried eight; and this, notwithstanding the enemy's fire from the platform at the pier-head. While he was in this situation, he discovered in the basin four sixty-gun ships, and two smal-

^a Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 557, 563. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 480, 493. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 194, 199.

^b Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 573. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 459. London Gazette, No. 5860.

^c The complete history of Europe, for 1711, p. 79. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 335.

^d Burchet's naval history, p. 789.

her vessels, all unrigged, and had certain information of a small squadron that was sitting there for the sea; after which he cruized as carefully as he could, as well for that, as for the convoy from Bretagne; but both, notwithstanding all his vigilance, escaped him.

On the 27th of June, an English man of war, called the *Advice*, commanded by Kenneth, lord Duffus, was attacked in Yarmouth roads, by several French privateers^r. His lordship engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ship, which was a fourth rate of forty-six guns, till all his sails were torn to pieces, not a brace or bowling left, the shrouds cut away, two-thirds of his men killed and wounded, and his lordship had five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ship with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they most inhumanly stripped both officers and private men of their wearing apparel, and, but for the kindness of the inhabitants, had left them in a manner naked. Such was the brutal behaviour of these barbarous plunderers, and to such we must remain exposed, if that infamous nest of pirates, destroyed for the common safety of mankind, shall ever, through the weakness of our councils, be settled or fortified again.

On the 8th of August, Sir Thomas Hardy being in Yarmouth roads, with his squadron, received orders to proceed as far northwards as the islands of Orkney, in order to secure the Russia trade, and to send some ships that were with him to the Downs; the admiralty having received certain intelligence, that M. de Saus, a French officer, had actually got to sea from Dunkirk, with four large ships, viz. one of fifty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty-six, and one of twenty-four: in pursuance of these orders, Sir Thomas saw the Russia fleet, which was remarkably rich that year, as far as Shetland; and then sending them forward with a proper convoy, he returned to the Downs, where he received orders to proceed westward, in quest of M. du Caffé. While our ships were thus employed, a misfortune befel us upon our own coast; for M. de Saus, with

^r Columna rostrata, p. 290. The complete history of Europe, for the year 1711. But the facts related in the text are taken chiefly from the London Gazette, N^o. 4872.

his privateers, fell in with our Virginia fleet, which consisted of twenty-two sail, two of which were forced ashore, four escaped, and all the rest were taken*.

As soon as the news of this was carried to England, orders were sent to pursue the French Squadron, and to prevent, if possible, their getting back to Dunkirk; but the *sieur Saus* found means to rid himself of these attendants, though they were once within sight of him, and carried six of his prizes into Dunkirk, leaving the rest at Bologne, Calais, and other ports on the coast. Our cruizers and privateers repaired, in some degree, this misfortune, by the depredations they committed on the coasts of France, from whence they brought a great number of small prizes, which, if they did not turn much to our benefit, were, however, a great prejudice to France, since most of them were laden with corn, and other provisions, of which at that juncture the people were in great need. But it is now time to return to the proceedings of our Squadrons in the Mediterranean, where, as we have before shewn, Sir John Jennings commanded in chief, with a numerous fleet, of whose designs we shall now speak particularly, as they were the last that were formed during this war in these parts.

The affairs of king Charles had suffered so severely since the battle lost at Villa Viciosa, that even his best friends almost despaired of retrieving them. It was, however, resolved to send thither a large naval force, to assist in whatever measures might be thought proper, either for restoring his hopes, or providing for the safety of his person. The duke of Argyle commanded the English troops, with circumstances equally honourable to himself, and shameful to those who suffered so many brave men to fall under such heavy misfortunes. The army was but thin, and well it might be so, since general Staphope had been besieged, and taken, with eight battalions, and as many squadrons, a few months before, in the miserable hamlet of Brihuega. But this was not all; the regiments, thin as they were, were also ragged and starving, having no credit but what his grace procured for them, who soon brought things into bet-

* Burchet's naval hist. b. v. chap. 34. Annals of queen Anne, vol. x.

* Burchet, Journal historique de Louis XIV. p. 273.

ter order, and his very little army under good discipline. In short, he appeared there, what he appeared every where, not only a brave man and an active officer; not barely a great general, or an able statesman, but a friend to mankind, and a lover of his country. He fed the hungry, he clothed the naked, he stopped desertion; not by severities, but by convincing his soldiers that they could be used no where so well; inasmuch that when Sir John Jennings arrived at Barcelona with his fleet, in the latter end of March, he found things on the mending hand.

After performing some few necessary services; it was resolved, that the fleet should cruize off Toulon, in order to intercept the supplies which the enemy expected from Languedoc, and their corn-fleet from the Levant. While he was in this station, he received orders from England, to return immediately to the coast of Catalonia, that he might be ready to carry

" Bishop Burnet, indeed, has given a very different account of this matter, " The business of Spain had been so much pressed from the throne, and so much insisted on all this session, and the commons had given 1,500,000 l. " for that service, (a sum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding session), so that it was expected matters would have been carried there in " another manner than formerly. The duke of Argyle was sent to command " the queen's troops there, and he seemed full of heat; but all our hopes failed. " The duke of Vendôme's army was in so ill a condition, that if Saxeberg " had been supported, he promised himself great advantages. It does not yet " appear, what made this to fail, for the parliament has not yet taken this into " examination. It is certain, the duke of Argyle did nothing; neither he nor " his troops were once named during the whole campaign. He wrote over very " heavy complaints, that he was not supported, by the failure of the subsidies, " that he expected; but what ground there was for that, does not yet appear; " for, though he afterwards came over, he was very silent, and seemed in a " good understanding with the ministers." The last words of this amazing piece of history sufficiently explain it. The duke of Argyle agreed with that ministry, with whom the priests could not agree. He complained of the condition in which he found the troops, which was owing to the want of some few instruments of the old ministry, and he made no complaints against the new, because he was sensible they supplied him as well as they were able: but he differed from them afterwards, when he saw just cause for it: and indeed, through his whole life, he was particularly remarkable for keeping up a spirit suitable to his birth, quality, and that most illustrious title, by which the greatest patriots in Scotland had, through a long series of years, been distinguished.

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the king of Spain to Genoa, or where else he should desire^w; his majesty, by the death of his brother, the emperor Joseph, being lately become sole heir of all the dominions of the house of Austria. He was likewise directed to afford all the assistance possible to the kingdom of Naples, in case any commotion should happen there at this juncture; and accordingly he repaired to Barcelona, to consult his majesty and the duke of Argyll, as to the properest method of executing these orders having first detached two men of war of the third, one of the fourth, and one of the fifth rate, to cruise on the coast of Naples, with orders to assist the subjects of the house of Austria, if any attempts should be made for reducing the garrisons of Orbitello, or Piombino^x.

On his arrival there, he found the king not at all inclined to quit Catalonia, till such time as he had advice of his being elected emperor, in which he was promised all the assistance that could be afforded him by the high allies; and, on the other hand, he found his majesty equally unwilling to part with this fleet, upon which all his hopes depended. Sir John Jennings contented himself, therefore, with sailing from Barcelona, on the 13th of July, for Port Mahon, where he arrived on the 18th, having first of all promised the king of Spain, to return as soon as the ships were refitted, and he had taken in a proper supply of provisions, which began to grow very scarce; and this promise he exactly performed by the 26th, when we find him again in the road of Barcelona, with one second, five third, and one fourth rate, besides seven Dutch men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Peterfon, having ten other ships, most of the line, abroad on necessary service. When these had joined him he took the king of Spain on board, having then a fleet of twenty-four ships of war, and landed him in ten days time at Genoa; from whence the admiral sailed to Leghorn, being in great want of cables and other stores, in order to procure such as the place would afford; and while he was there,

^w London Gazette, N^o. 4841, 4881.

^x Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. 36. The complete history of Europe, for 1711. London Gazette, N^o. 4836.

two of our captains brought in two rich prizes from the Levant⁷.

His excellency continued in that port to the 2d of November, when he sailed for Vado Bay, and having embarked the forces that were ready to proceed for Catalonia, he sent them under the protection of five men of war and two fire-ships, to Barcelona, under the command of captain Swanton, with whose squadron, and three Dutch ships of war, the admiral sailed as far westward as cape Roses; and was then to repair to Port Mahon, where captain Swanton was ordered to join him, as soon as he had seen the transports in safety, that the admiral might be able to make a detachment for protecting the coasts of Portugal; as also some ships to cruize in the Straights mouth, for the security of our trade. When the admiral had made the island of Minorca, the wind blew excessively hard from the north-east, which obliged him to come to an anchor on the north side of the island, where most of the ships sails blew away from their yards; but he got, however, the next day into Port Mahon. On his arrival he was informed, by the captains of two ships he found there, that they had heard a great firing of guns all the night before; upon which he sent the Chatham and Winchelsea, the next morning, to see what they could discover; who soon brought an account, that the Dutch vice-admiral, with his squadron, was in the offing, together with four British ships⁸.

These ships of ours were the Hampton-court, commanded by captain Mighells; the Sterling-castle, the Nottingham, the Charles galley, and the Lynn, which came from the coast of Catalonia, and in their passage had fallen in with two French men of war, the Thoulouse, and the Trident, each of fifty guns, and four hundred men. The Hampton-court came up with the first of them, and engaged her two hours, to whose commander, by the time the Sterling-castle was within musket-

⁷ Burchet's naval history, *ibi supra*. The complete history of Europe for 1711, p. 363. Annals of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 76. London Gazette, N^o. 4908, 4914, 4915, 4919, 4927.

⁸ Burchet's naval history, p. 795. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. Annals of queen Anne. Mercure historique et politique, tom. lii. p. 131. London Gazette, N^o. 4891.

shot (which was about ten at night) she struck; but by the advantage of little winds, the Trident got away with her oars. The Hampton-court's masts being much wounded in the fight, they, by the violence of the weather, came next day all by the board, so that she was towed into port by the Sterling-castle. The first captain of the Thoulouse, was M. Grand Pre, and the second captain one Rigby, an Englishman, who had formerly bore command in our fleet. From the former of them the admiral accepted his parole of honour for six months; but the latter he detained, although M. Grand Pre assured him he was naturalized in France, and was become a Roman Catholic; but some way or other he found means to escape, and it was believed he got on board a ship bound for Genoa, which lay in the harbour of Mahon^a. About the same time, the Restoration, a ship of seventy guns, was lost on the back side of the Mallora, off Leghorn, but all her officers and men were saved; nor fell it out better with a settee, that had on board to the value of four thousand crowns, which she was bringing from one of the ports of Corsica^b.

The French having at present no fleet in the Mediterranean, the admiral was at liberty to employ his ships in such a manner, as might best answer the purpose of protecting Catalonia, and incommoding the enemy; which he accordingly did, till towards the end of the year he received advice, that the French were busy at Toulon, in fitting out a considerable force, which was to put to sea in the spring, of which the admiral took all the care he could to be particularly informed, and at last received a certain account, that this Squadron was to consist of eleven or twelve ships, of which eight were of the line, and three or four

^a I have not been able to recover any further particulars as to these captures, though I have taken all the pains I could to inquire after them. This Rigby had made himself very infamous before he left England, having been long in Newgate, and having received sentence for a most scandalous crime at the Old Bailey. Yet he was preferred in France for his skill in the marine, and might, after this misfortune, have passed his time with ease at least, if not reputation; but his expences were so large, that, as I have been informed, he brought upon himself the just reward of a life so wickedly spent; and is therefore a fit warning to all such renegadoes as prefer the increase of their private fortune, to the honour or welfare of their country.

^b Burchet's naval history, p. 795. London Gazette, No. 4934.

were frigates; that they were to proceed first to Cadiz, and from thence to the West Indies^c. Upon this, the admiral, on the 21st of February, held a council of war, in which, upon a strict examination, it was found, that the ships under his command, could not put to sea till supplied with provisions from Italy; and therefore a frigate was dispatched to vice-admiral Baker, then at Lisbon, with this intelligence, that he might strengthen the convoy of the store-ships and victuallers sent from thence, and at the same time it was resolved, that as soon as the English and Dutch ships arrived from Italy, the admiral should cruize between Port Mahon and Cape de Gatt, not only for the protection of the convoy, but in order to intercept the enemy.

This necessary supply of provisions, and naval stores, arriving safe at Port Mahon, and the admiral having intelligence from all sides, of the great naval preparations of the enemy, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 11th of March, to put to sea with one second, three third, two fifth rate, and two fire-ships of ours, and nine ships of the States-General, and to cruize ten or twelve leagues from Cape Toulon, until more certain advice of the enemy could be had. Captain Walpole, in the Lion, joining the fleet from Genoa, and informing them, that he had seen in his passage nine tall ships to the N. W. of the island of Minorca; it was resolved in a council of war, held on the 23d of March, to proceed to the southward of Majorca and Ivica, in order to intercept the enemy, if it was possible, between that and Cape St. Martin, in their passage down the Streights. Obtaining, however, no further intelligence, he came to an anchor on the first of April off the island of Formentara, from whence he sent two clean ships to look into the bays of Denea, Xabea, and Altea, as also into Alicant road; and, in case they brought him no advice, it was determined to sail immediately to Barcelona. This was accordingly done, and on his arrival there, and hearing nothing of the French, he sent a clean frigate to look into the harbour of Toulon, in order to discover what they were doing there, with a resolution, upon

^c Burchet's naval history, p. 496. Lediard, vol. ii. *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. liii. p. 410.

The return of that ship, to proceed to Port Mahon, there to re-victual, and then to stand over to the Italian coast, in order to bring from thence a new supply of troops to Catalonia ^d.

We are now to proceed to an account of what was done this year in the West Indies, where, when we spoke last of affairs in those parts, we left commodore Littleton with a strong squadron under his command. This gentleman was extremely well qualified for this station: he had all the abilities and experience that could be wished for in a sea-officer, and yet was as ready to ask, and receive advice, as if he had neither. On his first arrival in those parts, which was in the month of November, 1710, he took all the care that was possible to obtain proper intelligence of the motions of the galleons, which were still at Carthagena; and at the same time he neglected nothing that the merchants thought requisite, either for the security of their trade in those parts, or for the safe convoy of such ships as from time to time were sent home; so that, during his stay at Jamaica, there were few or no complaints, but every body studied to mind his own business, and to discharge, when called upon, his duty in the public service.

The desire of taking the galleons, was what principally occupied the thoughts of the commodore, and as he was frequently perplexed with false intelligence, he stationed the Nonsuch and the Roebuck, on the Spanish coast, giving orders to captain Hardy, who commanded the former, to dispatch the Roebuck to Jamaica, with any certain intelligence he could obtain, either as to the time when it was proposed the galleons should sail, or the strength of the convoy that was to accompany them. These orders were faithfully executed, though very little intelligence, except that the galleons had as yet no convoy, could, for many months, be procured.

In May, 1711, the commodore received an account from the masters of some vessels from Madeira, that M. du Caffé, with a squadron under his command, had been seen from that island. Soon after, a Spanish sloop was taken, in which was a letter from the governor of Carthagena, expressing his hopes, that

^d Burchet. Complete history of Europe, for the year 1712. Life of queen Anne. Memoirs of the war in Spain, &c.

M. du Caffé would shortly arrive with seven sail of stout ships, in order to convoy the galleons. Upon this, the commodore immediately sent an advice-boat to recal the *Nonfuch*, and, in the mean time, began to prepare for an expedition, resolving not to lose this opportunity of attacking the French squadron, and having a chance for making prize of some of the galleons*.

The *Jersey*, commanded by captain Vernon, was then cruizing to the windward of Jamaica, and having taken a French ship belonging to the port of Brest, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men, he carried her into Jamaica, on the 23d of May. The captain of this vessel informed the commodore, that he had been trading on the coast of New Spain, from whence, proceeding to Port Lewis, in Hispaniola, where he put on shore the money he had taken, he was sailing from thence to Petit Guavas, in order to take in there a cargo for France, when he fell into the hands of captain Vernon. He added, that he sailed from Port Lewis on the 20th, in company with M. du Caffé, who was gone for Carthagená, and that his squadron consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty, one of fifty, one of twenty-four, and one of twenty; but captain Hardy arriving on the 27th, assured Mr. Littleton, that two ships of the French squadron, one of which was the *Gloucester*, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us, and another of forty-four, arrived at Carthagená, ten days before, and waited for M. du Caffé, who designed, as soon as the galleons could be ready, to sail with them for the Havannah, and from thence to Cadiz.

Upon this, captain Vernon was sent over to the coast of New Spain; and returning on the 4th of July, reported, that on the 28th of June, he had looked into the port of Carthagená, where he saw twelve ships, six rigged, and six unrigged, and five sloops; the six ships that were rigged, he informed the commodore, where the *St. Michael*, of seventy-four guns; the *Hercules*, of sixty; the *Griffin*, of fifty; two small frigates, and the vice-admiral of the galleons, which carried sixty guns: and that, of the ships that were unrigged, there were two at the upper end of the harbour, preparing for sea, one of which he be-

* Burchet's naval history, p. 711, 712.

lieved to be the *Minion*, of fifty guns, and another of forty, the rest he took to be trading vessels^f.

Upon the 15th of July, the commodore sailed with one third rate, four fourth rates, and a sloop^g for Carthagena; and arriving on the coast of New Spain on the 26th, he discovered five ships to the leeward, which he chased into Boca Chica, at the entrance of Carthagena harbour. Upon this, he stood off to sea the greatest part of the night; but stretching in to the shore next morning, chased four ships, and about six came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spanish merchant ship; and as M. du Casse had taken most of the money out of the galleon, having some suspicion of the commanding officer on board her; so was this very carrack the same which had escaped from Mr. Wager, as hath been before related; and coming from Carthagena, in company with some French ships of war, it happened she was separated from them, and believing our ships to be those with M. du Casse, (as her commander said), lay by the greatest part of the day, and when Mr. Littleton came near, hoisted Spanish colours, and a flag at the fore-top-mast-head, so that between five and six at night, the *Salisbury's* prize, commanded by captain Robert Harland, engaged her; soon after which, the *Salisbury*, commanded by captain Francis Hosier, did the same^h.

The commodore being within pistol shot, was just going to fire into her when they struck their colours; and the *Jersey*, going after one of the merchant ships, took her; the *Nonsuch* chasing the other, she escaped in the night. The vice-admiral

^f Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. xx. *Columna rostrata*, p. 293. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tom. li. p. 433.

^g The commodore hoisted his broad pennant in the *Defiance*; and the ships that sailed with him, were the *Salisbury*, *Salisbury's* prize, *Jersey*, *Nonsuch*, and *Jamaica* sloop. In their passage, the *Salisbury's* prize sprung her main-mast, which occasioned some delay, till it could be secured, and then they proceeded; captain Vernon, in the *Jersey*, having been sent, while the rest of the squadron lay by, to look into Carthagena.

^h It is of consequence where we can come at such distinct relations as this is, for the use of young officers, to whom they are acceptable. It would be of service, and indeed of great service, if a distinct and clear narrative of every expedition, drawn, or at least signed by the commanding officer, was deposited in the admiralty, as well as a sea journal.

of the galleons, being wounded by a small shot, died soon after. M. du Cassé had taken most of the money out of the galleon, except what was found in some boxes which belonged to private persons. She had sixty brass guns mounted, and three hundred and twenty-five men; and the ship which the *Jersey* took, was a vessel belonging to the merchants, of about four hundred tons, and twenty-six guns, laden for the most part with cocoa and wool. The prisoners, by the description given to them of the ships which were seen by the commodore, the day he came off of Carthagena, assured him, they were those with M. du Cassé, and that he had been out of Carthagena but two days, being separated from the Spanish vice-admiral, and nine merchant ships, the day after he came out; and since Mr. Littleton was well assured that he intended to touch at the Havannah, it was determined to cruise a little to the leeward of Point Pedro shoals, as the most proper place for intercepting them, until such time as further intelligence could be gained from captain Hook, of the Jamaica sloop, who was sent over to the coast with some Spanish prisoners.

About this time the French formed a very memorable design of attacking the Leeward Islands, and this, with the natural strength of their own colonies; for which purpose they assembled, in the month of May and June, about two thousand men in Martinico; these they embarked on board the following vessels, *viz.* a large ship, of thirty-six guns, a hag-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant ships, and nine privateer sloops. They put to sea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the island of Antigua; but they were scarce clear of their own island, before they met with her majesty's ship the *Newcastle*, commanded by captain Bourn, who attacked them so briskly, that, notwithstanding it was a calm, and they lay in such a manner, as that it was impossible for him to bring his broadside

i This account is taken from the commodore's letter, dated on board the *Despatch*, in Port-Royal harbour, August 13, 1711. He says, in the same letter, that he had but one man killed, and six wounded in the engagement; and though neither he, nor any of our historians, insist much on the value of this capture, yet a Dutch writer informs us, that the two prizes, with the effects on board them, were worth one hundred thousand pounds.

to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French lost sixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquish their enterprize, and to take the opportunity of the first little breeze that sprung up, to return into one of the ports of their own islands.

Unwilling, however, absolutely to abandon their design, they refitted their vessels, and beat up for volunteers, and, on the 16th, landed near fifteen hundred men on the island of Montserrat; they debarked these troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the adjacent country; but being informed that captain Bourn sailed from thence that very day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in such a hurry, that they left fifteen or twenty of their men behind them, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the island, and thus ended this project, through the courage and conduct of this worthy commander. The French, however, did not escape totally unchastised for this mischief, for captain Lisle, in her majesty's ship the *Diamond*, having notice of their situation, and suspecting that some of their transports would very soon put to sea, he kept cruising, together with the *Panther*, and another of her majesty's ships, at a small distance from the coast, and in a short time took three of them, besides other prizes, so that the enemy were effectually cured of their inclinations to make descents for this year^k.

To return now to commodore Littleton, who having sent away the homeward-bound trade in the month of August, under the convoy of the *Nonsuch*, returned again to his cruising station, in the latter end of the same month. He had not been long at sea, before the captain of the *Medway's* prize, whom he had sent to Blewfields-bay in Jamaica, brought him advice, that the master of a trading vessel had lately made oath before lord Archibald Hamilton, then governor of Jamaica, that eighteen French men of war, having a large number of transports with soldiers under their convoy, arrived lately at Martinico,

^k See captain Bourn's letter, dated from Carlisle-bay, in Barbadoes, July 17, 1711, and two letters from captain Lisle, the first dated July 22, and the second July 30, 1711; the former from Antigua, and the latter from St. Christopher's, in the London Gazette, NO. 4906.

from whence, it was believed, they would very speedily sail, to make an attempt upon Jamaica. This intelligence induced the commodore to sail instantly back to the island, where the governor assured him, there was not a word of truth in the story. This accident, however, had a very ill effect, since at that very instant M. du Caffé, with his squadron, got safe into the Havannah, which he could not possibly have done, if the commodore had kept his station. It may be believed, this disappointment gave him infinite disturbance, but it did not, however, hinder his cruising for some time off the Havannah, in hopes of repairing this disaster; in which he did not succeed¹.

Upon his return to Jamaica, he found the *Thetis*, a French man of war, lately taken, arrived from New England; and soon after captain Lestock, in the *Weymouth*, from the same place, with a small privateer, which he had taken on the coast of Porto Rico, in his passage. There were at this time many merchant ships ready to sail home, with whom the commodore sent the *Anglesea*, *Fowey*, and *Scarborough*; the last-mentioned ship had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coast of Guinea, where, not long before, the French had taken her from us. Thus ended the operations of the naval campaign for this year in the West Indies².

But, before we leave America, it is necessary that we should enter into a circumstantial account of that famous expedition against the French settlements in Canada, which makes so great a figure in the French histories, and on which we find so many reflections made in our own; the subject indeed is both intricate and unpleasant, but, withal, it is extremely necessary to set it in a clear light; since, notwithstanding its miscarriage, through a concurrence of unforeseen, as well as unlucky accidents, it was certainly one of the best intended, and very far from being one of the worst contrived designs that was set on foot during this war, and, therefore, we hope the reader will not think an impartial relation of the whole affair unworthy of his attention³.

The

¹ Burchet's naval history, p. 715. British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345.

² Burchet, p. 715, 716. Annals of queen Anne, &c.

³ At this distance of time, when the parties are all dead, and the circumstances of things so altered, as to leave no room for either prepossessions or prejudices,

The disturbance given us by the French in North America, and the apprehensions our colonies were under, from the strength of their settlements in Canada, have been so often mentioned, that I think I need not insist upon them here: I shall content myself therefore with observing, that the earl of Godolphin had often expressed a strong desire of attempting something of consequence in this part of the world, that might exalt our own character, and humble the haughtiness of the enemy. Sir Hovenden Walker informs us, that he was consulted by that great minister, in reference to this design; yet I very much doubt, whether the whole of it was then communicated to him, since it is very certain, that it was not either he, or general Hill, who were to have been employed in the expedition, as it was then intended; but Sir Thomas Hardy was to have commanded the fleet, and the land forces were to have been under general Maccartney. It has been remarked by bishop Burnet, and some other writers, that the whole of this design was concerted without any application to, or consent of parliament; and this, that prelate says, was the more inexcusable, because it was contrived and carried into execution, at a time when the parliament was sitting °.

The force of this objection, I must confess, I do not see; for if expeditions of such a nature, with all the estimates of expences necessary for rendering them effectual, were to be laid

judices, one may hope, that a candid inquiry into so very important an expedition, will merit the favour, as well as claim the attention, of every judicious reader, for many reasons.

° The bishop's account runs thus: "An expedition was designed by sea, for taking Quebec and Placentia, and, for that end, five thousand men were brought from Flanders. Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a strong squadron of men of war ordered to secure the transport fleet; they were furnished from hence with provisions, only for three months; but they designed to take in a second supply at New England. A commissioner of the victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them to be sent out so ill furnished, for they had stores lying on their hands for a full supply."—Mr. Oldmixon writes with less resentment; he attributes this project originally to governor Nicholson, and I believe with truth; he says, the four Indian chiefs, who were brought over hither, and presented to the queen, solicited it strongly; and, in fine, that it had been certainly a very good project, if it had fallen into good hands. But, he insinuates, that it was made a job; the contrary of which, I think, will appear by the citation in the next note.

before

before parliament before they could be undertaken, I think it must be obvious to every intelligent reader, that this would afford such an opportunity of opposing designs of this nature at home, and making all the world acquainted with them abroad, that it would be afterwards seldom advisable to execute them. But there is another remark made by Mr. Burchet, which appears to have a better foundation. He says, that this design was industriously concealed from the lords of the admiralty, as long as it was possible, and that at last they were trusted only with the executive part, and not at all with the direction; for otherwise, he thinks, it must have been impossible that such large ships should have been ordered for an expedition into the river of St. Lawrence, which was well known to their lordships to be so hazardous a navigation, and for which, therefore, ships of such a burden were altogether unfit^p.

This remark, I say, has greater weight with me, because it plainly proves, that how right soever the intention of a ministry

^p How far the following account of this matter, taken from a letter of Mr. secretary St. John's, to Sir Hovenden Walker, dated April 17, 1711, will obviate even this objection, I must leave to the reader; with this observation, however, that if the sentiments contained in it were not sincere, the writer must have been the greatest dissembler in the world.—“The Humber and Devonshire will proceed with you, of those which are ordered to cruise in the Soundings, it will not, I doubt, be possible for you to be joined by any. The lords of the admiralty, you find, look on these additional ships as given you for the expedition, and it is fit they should do so; but when you are got far enough into the sea, you are to send back two of the ten sail, and if you find any of the eight first, appointed to compose your Squadron, not fit for the voyage, as the Torbay is, reported not to be, you may, in such case, send home the ship which is unfit, taking which you shall like best of the two additional ships in lieu of her. The messenger who brings this packet, is ordered to stay till dispatched back again by Mr. Hill and yourself. I must tell you, that I find her majesty extremely impatient to hear you are sailed, and concerned lest you should lose the advantage of this easterly wind. I hope, therefore, by the return of the messenger, you will inform me exactly when you shall be ready to proceed. I have nothing more to add, but to recommend all possible expedition to you, upon which, morally and probably speaking, your success indrely depends. That you may have a prosperous voyage, and be, together with Mr. Hill, the instruments of doing so much honour, and bringing so much advantage to your country, as are proposed by the attempt you are ordered to make, is the hearty prayers of,

“Sir, your, &c.”

may

may be, in endeavouring to preserve an absolute secrecy as to designs of this sort; yet, in case of any miscarriage, their conduct will be always liable to great imputations, where they avoid communicating their councils to such branches of the administration, as seem to have a right to regulate and direct them.

In respect to this design upon Quebec, it seems to have been principally under the direction of the lord viscount Bolingbroke, then Mr. secretary St. John, by whose interest, I suppose, Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to command in chief, and general Hill, who was brother to lady Matham, was likewise appointed commander of about five thousand land-forces, that were to be employed in this design. As it was the first, and indeed the only great undertaking of the new ministry, I cannot believe but that they were in earnest, and really in hopes of raising their reputation, by giving an extraordinary blow to the French power in those parts; which I conceive must evidently appear, if we consider the great force employed for this purpose, and which will be best made known to the reader, by giving him Sir Hovenden Walker's line of battle, as we find it in the appendix to his own account.

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Torbay,	Captain Moody,	500	80
Monmouth,	Mitchell,	400	70
Sunderland,	Gore,	365	60
Diamond,	Lisle,	190	40
Devonshire,	Arris,	520	80
Edgar,	Sir Hovenden Walker,	} 440	70
	Captain Soans,		
Humber,	Culliford,	520	80

¶ One may fairly collect from this, that the ministers who concerted this scheme, were not only thoroughly in earnest, but also extremely sanguine in respect to its success, otherwise they would never have taken this method; and sure there was nothing criminal, in desiring to recover Canada out of the hands of the French, or in proposing, for the protection and security of our own colonies, to drive them entirely out of North America, which was the avowed design of this enterprise, and would have been a signal benefit to Great Britain.

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Montague,	Captain Walton,	365	60
Kingston,	Winder,	365	60
Swiftsure,	Cooper,	400	70
Dunkirk,	Butler,	365	60

Together with the Bedford-Galley frigate, Basilisk and Granada bombs, with the Experiment, the bombs tender.

There were, besides, thirty-three transports, with the regiments of brigadier Hill, colonel Windrefs, colonel Clayton, colonel Kane, lieutenant-general Seymour, colonel Disney, colonel Kirk, and a battalion of marines, under the command of colonel Charles Churchill, making in all upwards of five thousand men, and eight transports and tenders belonging to the train.

The instructions given by her majesty to Sir Hovenden Walker, required him, as soon as the general and troops were embarked, to proceed to Boston directly, without touching at any place whatsoever; and, if he judged it convenient, he was to detach, in his passage, a ship of war, with the artillery, stores, clothes, and other necessaries, to New York; but, if he found this inexpedient, he was to send them from Boston. On his arrival at that place, he was to take the Leopard and Sapphire under his command, and in case the general thought it necessary, he was to assist him in exchanging the garrison of Annapolis Royal; and in transporting the old garrison, with stores, back to New England. He was, when at Boston, to take under his care all transport vessels, ketches, hoys, boats, and other necessaries provided in New England; and as soon as the forces from hence, and those raised there, should be on board, he was to sail with them all into the river of St. Lawrence, up to Quebec, in order to attack that place; and being arrived, to make a proper disposition of the ships for that purpose, as well of such as might be fit to employ before the town, as others, upon consulting with the general, to pass that place, and proceed up the river towards the lake, not only to prevent any communication with Québec, but to protect the canoes, and

* See the appendix to Sir Hovenden Walker's full account of the late expedition to Canada, p. 188—191.

boats, with the forces from New York; to which end he was empowered to convert some of the small vessels sent from hence, or New England, into frigates, suitable to the navigation of the upper part of the river, and to man and arm them accordingly. At New England, or elsewhere, he was to assist the general with vessels and boats proper for landing the forces, and embarking them again, but more especially upon his arrival at Quebec, or for transporting them from place to place. He was also ordered to send to the general such marine soldiers as should be on board the squadron, when he should demand the same, which he was to have the chief command of while employed on shore; besides which, he was to assist him with such a number of seamen, gunners, guns, ammunition, and other stores from the ships, as he should demand for the land-service, which seamen were to assist in drawing and mounting the cannon, or otherwise as should be found necessary. He was strictly required to lose no time in proceeding to New England, and from thence to the river of St. Lawrence; nor in putting in execution the service of Quebec: but that, on his part, all expedition should be used in the reduction of the place, and of the country of Canada, or New France, and in the seasonable return of the squadron and transports^{*}.

He was further instructed, which shews that this design had been very thoroughly considered, in case of success, to leave such a naval force as he thought proper in the river of St. Lawrence, and to make use of any of the enemy's ships that might be taken, to bring into Europe such governors, regular troops, religious persons, or others whom the general, by his instructions, was directed to send away from Canada, with whatever necessaries for their transportation he should think requisite. These services being provided for, he was to take on board the general, if he should think fit to return, and such of the forces as should not be found necessary to live in Canada; and, if the season of the year would permit, he was to proceed to attack Placentia, in Newfoundland, in such a manner as general Hill should direct; and this service being over, he was to order such ships of war as did

^{*} See the instructions at large, in the before-mentioned appendix, p. 166.

not properly belong to his squadron, to their several stations, directing the masters of the transports, which he should have no further occasion for, to go and seek freight, either in ports upon the continent of America, or in the islands, in order to ease the public of the charge of them, and for the benefit of the British commerce^c.

On the 29th of April, 1711, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed with the men of war and transports under his command; but coming off the Start the first of May, a westerly wind obliged him to put into Plymouth^d; from whence he sailed again in

^c Besides these instructions, the admiral was furnished with copies of those sent to the respective governors of Massachusetts's bay, and New Hampshire; the additional instructions sent to the governor of New York, as well as those to Francis Nicholson, Esq; and the governors of Connecticut, Rhode-Island, Providence, and Pennsylvania, that he might be convinced the administration had taken all the care in their power, that he might not fail for want of proper assistance, or be in any doubt as to what was, or was not in the power of such persons as he, in the course of his expedition might have occasion to apply to; which, without doubt, was very useful, and highly proper in his circumstances.

^d As I have all along endeavoured to treat every subject that fell in my way as impartially as possible, so I think it my duty to give the reader here a letter from lord Bellingbroke to the admiral, which, I think, evidently proves, that minister had this design as much at heart as any man in his station could have.

“SIR,

“The wind being come about to the south, I take it for granted, that this letter will find you at Plymouth, or at Torbay, the usual bane of our maritime expeditions. You must allow me to tell you, that the queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay at Portsmouth; and, if the Devonshire could not be refitted sooner, you ought rather to have left her behind, than delay your sailing. If the transports were the occasion of this misfortune, the commissioners, or masters of them are to blame, and should be complained of. I take it for granted, if you continue any time wind-bound, that you will be stopped for good and all; and the whole expence and trouble will be thrown away; and that we shall make as little of our fleet this year, as we have done in former summers. In case providence will carry us forward in spite of our teeth; I hope the last delay will be a warning to you, and that you will improve to day, instead of depending upon to-morrow. If any thing is to be ordered, or done here, let me know by express, and there shall be as much expedition used, as I wish there had been at Portsmouth. I have sent to Coleby, to go wherever you are driven back, that this part of the service may have the due care taken of it.

“Whitehall, May 1, 1711.

I am, SIR, &c.”

two days time, and continued his voyage very happily towards New England, where he arrived on the 24th of June, without any other accident, than two of his captains disobeying his orders, *viz.* captain Soans, of the *Edgar*, and captain Butler, in the *Dunkirk*; they had both chaced without signal, and left the fleet, notwithstanding the strict injunction of the admiral, grounded on his instructions to the contrary. As captain Soans had joined the fleet again the next day, he was only mulcted three months pay; but captain Butler having never been seen by the fleet, till their arrival at Nantasket, near Boston, was discharged and dismissed from his command ^w.

The admiral was far from meeting, in New England, with that hearty zeal for the service which he expected; for being obliged to take up a great quantity of provisions for the service of the fleet and transports, he found the utmost difficulty therein, as appears very clearly from the authentic papers inserted, or annexed by way of appendix to his account. From these it is evident, that the person who was depended upon for that service, not only refused it, but endeavoured to serve his private interest, at the expence of the public, by buying up great quantities on his own account, in order to vend them again to whoever should undertake to supply the fleet; so that by the slowness of the colony, and the avarice of this particular person, the whole expedition was ruined ^x.

The admiral and general did all that was in their power, by memorials and solicitations, to remedy this inconvenience; but

^w The sentences of these courts martial are in the appendix to Sir Hoven-den Walker's account; where, in that of captain Thomas Butler it is said, that he separated from the fleet on the 28th of May, in order to chase a small ship which he took, and applied the produce for his own private advantage, by which he was guilty of a positive breach both of orders and discipline.

^x Amongst other pieces of secret history relative to this attempt, one was, that the French had their emissaries in New England, and that by an adroit application of money, they produced these disappointments and delays, which rendered it ineffectual. But as I never heard there were any direct proofs given of this, I am inclined to believe avarice and private interest served the French more effectually, and with less expence, than any agents of theirs could have done. But in those days, much was ascribed to French gold, when in truth they had little gold to give.

to little or no purpose, since the inhabitants were extremely sensible of their own interest, and deaf to every thing else. General Nicholson came to Boston, and gave all the assistance that was in his power, and so did some other public-spirited persons, without which it had been impossible for the fleet and forces to have proceeded at all; and, as it was, they found it impracticable to leave Boston before the 30th of July, when, with a few pilots on board, who professed their own ignorance, and went against their will, Sir Hovenden Walker failed for Quebec⁷.

On the 14th of August he reached the Bird Islands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Anne, and having sent the Chester, Leopard, and Sapphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, an island opposite to Newfoundland, expecting their joining him in his passage to Quebec; the former of which ships had taken, and sent into Boston before he sailed thence, a ship of about one hundred and twenty tons, and ten guns, that had seventy men on board, whereof thirty were soldiers for that garrison. The Leostaff, Feversham, Enterprize, and Triton's prize, all small frigates which were stationed at New York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off Cape Breton, being empowered by her majesty's orders so to do, if he should find it necessary; and this he the rather did, because of the use they might be to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation most of the people with whom he had spoken, represented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the Humber and Devonshire, which mounted 80 guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which reason he sent them home, and shifted his flag on board the Edgar, a ship of 70 guns, general Hill removing into the Windsor, which carried ten less; but since he had information that a ship of 60 guns, and another of 30, were expected from France very suddenly, he ordered the Humber and Devonshire to cruize on the opening of the bay of St. Lawrence, until the last of August, and then to

⁷ See Sir Hovenden Walker's account. Burchet's naval history, p. 778, 779. Annals of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 153. Mercure historique et politique, tome I. p. 299, 433.

pursue their voyage home. He had very fair weather until he got into the bay, when it became changeable; sometimes thick and foggy, and at others calm, with little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of August, when he was off Gaspé-bay, near the entrance of the river, it blew fresh at N. W. and for fear the transports should be separated, and blown to leeward, he anchored in the bay, where, staying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French ship that was fishing, not being able to bring her off^a.

On the 20th of August, the wind veering westerly, the admiral had hopes of gaining a passage; but the next day in the afternoon it proved foggy, and continued so all night, and the day following, with very little wind till towards evening, when there was an extreme thick fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impossible to steer any course with safety, having not either sight of land, or soundings, or anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both English and French, who were the best in the fleet, made the signal for the ships to bring to, with their heads southward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that posture they should not come near the north shore, but rather have driven with the stream in the mid channel; but, on the contrary, as they lay with their heads southward, and the winds easterly, in two hours time he found himself on the north shore among the rocks and islands, at least fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been lost; the men of war escaping the danger with the utmost difficulty, but eight transport ships were cast away^a, and almost nine hundred officers, soldiers and seamen perished^b.

The

^a Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 227. Burchet's naval history, p. 779. The complete history of Europe, for 1711, p. 370. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 510. ^a Columna rostrata, p. 295. Mercure historique et politique, tome II. p. 323. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4910.

^b The admiral has published the following account of the ships and men that were lost by this unlucky accident,

Ships

The French pilot (who, as it was said, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command) informed him, that when it happens to be so foggy as to prevent the sight of the land, it is impossible to judge of the currents, or to steer by any course; for that he himself had lost two ships, and been another time cast away upon the north shore, when he judged himself near the south; infomuch, that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France, to proceed on so dangerous a navigation, since almost every year they suffered shipwreck^c.

Sir Hovenden Walker plied two days after this with fresh gales at W. and S. in order to save what men and stores he could, and on the 25th of August, by the advice, and with the consent of the general, he called a council of war, consisting of all the sea-officers, wherein great debates arose, most of the captains being rather inclined to censure the admiral's conduct, in not calling a council of war before he left Boston, than to give him any reason to grow pleased with councils of war, by the advice they gave him in this. Sir Hovenden told them plainly, that if he had acted amiss in what they mentioned, he was to answer for it in another place, and that the nature of the service, and the circumstances they were in, required them to confine their deliberations to another matter; and, therefore, in order to cut short these unnecessary debates, he would propose the single question, proper for their present con-

Ships names, transports.	Men lost.	Men saved.	Regiments.
Isabella Anne Katherine,	192	7 or 8	colonel Windresse.
Smyrna Merchant,	200	30	—— Kaine.
Samuel and Anne,	142	7 or 8	lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Nathaniel and Elisabeth,	10	188	—— ditto.
Marlborough,	130	30	colonel Clayton.
Chatham,	60	40	—— Windresse.
Colchester,	150	180	lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Content, victualler,		15	
	884	499	

^c Sir Hovenden himself gives Mr. Burchet this account, in a letter sent him express by captain Cook, of the *Leopard*, dated from on board the *Edgar*, in Spanish River bay, Sept. 12, 1712.

sideration; which was, whether they thought it practicable to get up to Quebec or not? upon which they came unanimously to the following resolution, *viz.* "That, by reason of the ignorance of the pilots, it was wholly impracticable to go up the river of St. Lawrence, with the men of war and transports, as far as Quebec; as also the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, as by fatal experience was found^d." Upon this, the *Saphire* was sent to Boston, with an account of the misfortune, and the *Montague* to find out the *Humber* and *Devonshire*, and to stop all ships bound up to Quebec; and the *Leopard* being left with some sloops and brigantines, to take any men from the shore that might be saved, and to endeavour to weigh some anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spanish River, in the island of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the state of the army and fleet, and to settle matters for their further proceedings; but all the ships did not join till the 7th of September^e.

The admiral being very sensible of the reproaches that would be cast upon him, if, after failing in his design on Quebec, he should return home without so much as attempting Placentia, communicated his thoughts upon this subject very freely to the general, and some land officers, intimating, at the same time, some doubt, whether his instructions would warrant such a conduct, without receiving fresh orders from England. General Hill agreed with him in the main, that it was a great misfortune to the nation, and very unlucky for themselves, that hitherto they had met with so little success in this expedition; but was quite of a different opinion, as to the return of the fleet and forces to England, which he judged to be absolutely in the admiral's power; however, he advised him to call a

^d This resolution was not taken upon any hasty resentment of the late accident; but after mature deliberation, and very strict examination of every pilot on board, who all of them agreed in confessing their ignorance; and even *colonel Verch*, who declared himself the best pilot for that river, now desired to be excused from meddling with sea affairs, and said, he could not take charge so much as of a single ship.

^e See Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 134. Burchet's naval history, p. 780. *Lond. Gaz.* before cited.

second council of war, and to be determined by the opinion of the sea and land officers, to which the admiral readily agreed; and accordingly he made a signal for a general council of war of sea and land officers, on Saturday the 8th of September, in Spanish River road; and in this council it was unanimously determined, that any attempt upon Placentia, considering the late-ness of the season, and their circumstances, was utterly impracticable.

The admiral had now nothing more to do, than to provide the best he could for his safe return home, and for the due distribution of ships and forces to their respective stations and garrisons throughout North America, which he seems to have performed

As this resolution absolutely decided the whole business, as it contains the reasons upon which the officers concerned proceeded; and as it fully proves the innocence of the admiral and the general in this affair, the whole of which it sets in a full and clear light; I think it necessary to transcribe this paper, with the names of the officers present at this council.

"The twenty-first article of her majesty's instructions to the general, for attacking Placentia, in Newfoundland, in his return from Canada, together with the tenth article of the admiral's instructions to the same purpose, being severally read to the council of war; as also a letter from colonel Dudley, governor of New England, to the admiral, touching the late-ness of the preparation of provisions, now making in that colony for the supply of the troops, if they had wintered at Quebec; all which being maturely considered and debated, the question was put as follows, viz. The state of provisions for the ships of war and land forces being considered, which provisions not amounting to above ten weeks, at short allowance, computing it from the 1st of this instant, September, as appears by the agent victuallers signed account thereof, and allowing it to be all good, and to hold out to that time, the said 1st of September, being the soonest we can sail from thence; and there being no hopes of any supply from New England before the beginning of November next, at soonest, as appears by the advice received in the aforesaid letter from the governor of New England, and the opinion of two of the members of the council of war, who knew that country, together with the uncertainty of any provisions coming to us at Newfoundland, by reason the season of the year is so far advanced, which makes the navigation of that coast so dangerous; the council of war is unanimously of opinion, that the attempt for reducing Placentia, under the circumstances and difficulties above-mentioned, is at this time altogether impracticable, and that it is for her majesty's service, that the Squadron and transports with the British troops, do forthwith return to Great Britain, and the forces raised in New England to that colony."

November

performed with all the care and diligence imaginable; and it appears, that in the whole course of his command, he preserved a perfect understanding with the land officers, and gave all the assistance that was either desired, or could be expected, to the several governors of our settlements in that part of the world. In his voyage home, he met with no accidents that either retarded his passage, or added to the misfortunes he had already met with; but arrived safely at St. Helen's, on the ninth of October, 1711, with the fleet and transports under his command.

On the 13th, the soldiers having all had their quarters assigned them, and the transports being directed to the several ports where the regiments were to debark, the admiral, having had leave for that purpose, set out for London. On the 15th, the admiral's ship, in which he had hoisted his flag, the *Edgar*, a third rate, of 70 guns, blew up at Spithead, by which several hundred seamen were lost, with all Sir Hovenden Walker's furniture, stores, and public papers, books, draughts, journals, charts, &c. the officers original demands, supplies, and receipts; which was certainly a very great misfortune to him, and such a one as did by no means deserve to be heightened by any groundless or malicious reflections; which, however, were not spared upon that melancholy occasion. That very evening, Sir Hovenden waited upon secretary St. John, who expressed an extraordinary concern on the miscarriage of the expedition. On the 19th, the admiral was introduced to the queen at Windsor, by the duke of St. Albans; when her majesty re-

Hovenden Walker,
Joseph Spence,
John Mitchell,
R. Arris,
G. Walton,
Henry Gore,
G. Paddon,
John Winder,
John Cockburn,
James Cook,

J. Hill.
Charles Churchill,
William Windesore,
M. Kempenfelt,
Jasper Clayton,
P. Kirk,
H. Disney,
Richard Kane,
Samuel Vetch,
Chs. Walton.

* Burchet's naval history, p. 781. The complete history of Europe, for 1711, p. 372. *Mercurius historicus et politicus*, tome li. p. 526.

ceived him very kindly, gave him her hand to kiss, and told she was glad to see him^b.

The reflections made by Mr. secretary Burchet, upon this expedition, are so extraordinary, and so out of his usual way of writing, that I cannot help laying them before the reader, with a few remarks. "Thus ended," says he, "an expedition so chargeable to the nation, and from which no advantage could reasonably be expected, considering how unadvisedly it was set on foot, by those who nursed it upon false suggestions and representations. Besides, it occasioned our drawing from our army in Flanders, under the command of his grace the duke of Marlborough, at least six thousand men; where, instead of beating up and down at sea, they might, under his auspicious conduct, have done their country service. Nay, there may be added to the misfortunes abroad, an unlucky accident which happened even at their return on our coasts; for a ship of the squadron, called the *Edgar*, of 70 guns, had not been many days at an anchor at Spithead, 'ere (by what cause is unknown) she blew up, and all the men which were on board her perished."

The first part of this observation is taken from Sir Hovenden Walker's letter; but whereas he says plainly, that as the scheme was contrived by the people of New England, so it was ruined through their ill conduct; yet, as it stands with Mr. Burchet, it looks rather like a reflection on the administration. The design itself was undoubtedly good; it was thought of before; it was attempted soon after the revolution. All thinking men in North America saw not only the expediency, but the necessity

^b See Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 155, 156. Burchet's naval history, p. 781. Pointer's chronological history, vol. ii. p. 665.

^c See his naval history, p. 781. What seems to have drawn so much resentment upon Sir Hovenden Walker was, his being considered as a favourite of this administration. At the change of the ministry, he was superintendant at Plymouth, and was promoted to the vacant flag in the month of March 1711, as he tells us himself, out of regard to seniority. In the month of April, he was knighted, and appointed commander in chief of this expedition, in which his conduct appeared so little blameable to her majesty, and her council, that, as we shall see hereafter, he was again appointed commander in chief in the West Indies, in order to relieve commodore Littleton, and discharged his trust there with great reputation.

of it, and that, in fact, the thing stood thus; we must either use our superiority for the destruction of the French, or expect destruction from them, when, through our neglect, and their own diligence, they became superior to us. It was, therefore, no objection at all, either to the administration, or to admiral Walker, that their thoughts were so much bent on a matter of so high consequence to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain; especially at such a juncture, when, if we had succeeded in our design, the possession of Canada must have been yielded to us by a peace.

The short victualling of the fleet, which some have interpreted as a proof that the ministry were not in earnest, was, in fact, an evidence of the contrary; for, if they had intended to make a show only, they would most certainly have victualled the fleet for the whole voyage. But then, this would have discovered the design long before they failed; and it is most certain, that by following the contrary method, the secret was very well kept. In the next place, it is no less certain, that Sir Moven- den arrived in Boston in very good time; and if the people of New England, instead of that backwardness which they expressed, and which, as appears from some intercepted letters, was in part conceived to be occasioned by the intrigues of some French agents among them; I say, if, instead of this backwardness, they had shown that zeal, that, from their duty to their mother-country, their own warm professions, and the interest they had in the execution of this design, might well have been expected, the scheme could not have failed.

So that, upon the whole, there is not the least ground for saying, that the land troops were worse employed under the command of general Hill, than they would have been in Flanders under the duke of Marlborough; I say, there is no ground for affirming this, unless it can be supposed, that the Dutch barrier is actually, and *bona fide*, of greater consequence to this nation, than our colonies and commerce; and I must, for my own part, confess, that I can never be much prepossessed in favour of a writer of naval history, who would insinuate such things to his reader. Yet all he says of this sort, is a very trifle, when compared with that most injurious suggestion, as to the blowing up
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of the *Edgar**, which was the highest misfortune to the admiral, and therefore it is barbarous in the last degree to impute it to him as a disgrace; nay, the very turn given to it, is as silly as it is malicious; for if the loss of the *Edgar* had been a thing contrived, it might in all probability have been discovered; whereas, being purely accidental, and all the men in her being blown up, it was simply impossible the cause of this accident should ever be known.

Another party writer has treated this expedition as severely, but with more wit, spirit, and decency, than the secretary; and to shew my impartiality, I have inserted his reflections at the bottom of the page¹. Happy would it be for us, if less of party, and more of public spirit, appeared in our historians; if the design of every expedition was impartially represented, and justice done to such commanders as did their best to serve the na-

* The blowing up of the *Edgar*, on the 15th of October, was certainly a very dreadful accident; since, besides her crew, there were forty or fifty people from Portsmouth and Gosport, who went to see their friends. The commission officers had the good fortune to be on shore. What made it still the worse was, that our seamen had a notion of its being very ominous, because it was the oldest ship in the navy; and some went so far as to affirm, that it was actually the ship in which king *Edgar* sailed, some part of the old vessel being constantly preserved every time that she had been re-built, so that these were all ingredients towards magnifying the disasters of the Canada expedition; and I much wonder that this tradition did not find a place in Mr. Burchet's history.

¹ The author referred to in the text, Dr. Hare, was then a reverend divine, and afterwards a right reverend prelate of our church, who, in a treatise, intitled, *The allies and the late ministry defended against France*, p. 58. writes thus, "It was plain, by the account given of the expedition, that it was not merely an accident, or any treachery, that was the cause of the miscarriage; but a complication of many difficulties. For first, continues he, we are told, that the river St. Laurence is navigable only at one time of the year. We let that slip; but if we had nix'd the time, we could not have sailed up that river without very able pilots. We had none: if we had taken the proper time, and been provided with good pilots, none but ships of a certain burden can go up the river; all our men of war were too big. But if time, and pilots, and ships had been the most proper for the enterprize, we should have had provisions for more months, than we had weeks, to subsist the fleet and troops during the winter. And what is more, if we had gone in the proper time; if we had had good pilots, if we had carried proper ships, and had lain in sufficient provisions, it is said the enemy were so well provided for a defence, that our forces were not sufficient; though both troops and officers were so good, that nothing would have been wanted on their side."

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tion, and were disappointed by accidents, that they could not either foresee or avoid.

We are now to return home, and to consider what passed in parliament, and elsewhere, relating to the subject of this work; and, in the first place, we are to observe, that as the parliament sat very late in the summer, so great pains were taken to discover as many oversights in the conduct of the late ministry, and that in as many branches of the public business as it was possible. Among these, the commons, on the 4th of June, 1711, thought fit to introduce the affairs of the fleet in the following terms:

“ With regard to the debt of the navy, we find that one great discouragement and burden, which that part of the service has lain under, has been from a liberty that has been used of diverting several sums issued to that service, and transferring them to other purposes, for which they were not intended; particularly, that the sum of six hundred and six thousand, eight hundred and six pounds, seven shillings and seven pence, belonging to the navy, has been paid for provisions supplied to land forces sent to Spain and Portugal, and for the garrison of Gibraltar; for which no deductions have been made from the pay of those forces, nor any part of that sum re-assigned to the victualling, notwithstanding the several acts of parliament provided, and the many letters written, and representations made to the treasury in that behalf. This unjustifiable proceeding has been a discouragement to the seamen, occasioned the paying extravagant rates upon contracts, and has very much contributed to sink the credit of the navy.

“ To this we may add, the many notorious embezzlements, and scandalous abuses, which appear to have been practised, as well in the management of your majesty’s brewhouse, as in the contracts for furnishing the navy with beer. We have already presumed to address your majesty, that several persons, whom we discovered to have been guilty of those frauds, should be prosecuted at law for their offences, and we entirely rely upon your majesty’s most gracious assurance, that those prosecutions shall be effectually carried on: but we must also, upon this occasion, beg leave further to repre-

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"sent to your majesty, that the commissioners appointed to take care of the victualling your majesty's navy, have been guilty of great negligence and remissness in their duty; for the instructions which go along with that commission, are so well adapted to the preventing those very abuses which have been committed, that nothing but a notorious mismanagement in that office, and an inexcusable neglect in pursuing those instructions, could have given way to the great loss the public has sustained in that part of the service^m."

To this the queen was pleased to give the following very gracious answer: "Gentlemen, this representation gives me fresh assurances of your zeal for my service, and for the true interest of your country. It contains many particulars. I will take them all into serious consideration, and give the necessary directions to redress the grievances you complain of. Be assured, that your advice, upon all occasions, has the greatest weight with meⁿ."

The change of the ministry, and the change of measures, made it extremely requisite to countenance, in the highest degree, whatever had the appearance either of public frugality, or encouraging our navigation, commerce, and influence abroad, such an influence, I mean, as might be beneficial to our trade; and

^m Some of our political writers have insinuated, that all this was the mere effects of party resentment, and a contrivance of the new ministry, to misrepresent the old, as the reader may find at large, in the history written by Mr. Oldmixon, who takes a great deal of pains to shew, that these censures were absolutely groundless; but bishop Burnet, who had no less respect for the old ministry, and as great opportunities of knowing the truth of things as Mr. Oldmixon, gives us quite another account of the matter, which it may not be amiss to give the reader in his own words. "Harley," says he, "in the house of commons, led them to inquire into some abuses in the victualling the navy: they had been publicly practised for many years, some have said, ever since the restoration. The abuse was visible, but connived at, that several expences might be answered that way: some have said, that the captains' tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet a member of the house, who was a Whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the house; and a prosecution was ordered against him: but the abuse goes on still, as avowedly as ever. Here was a show of zeal, and a seeming discovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation was deceived."

ⁿ Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 222. The complete history of Europe, for the year 1711, p. 232. B. yer's life of queen Anne, p. 499.

with a view to these, the commons followed their representation, upon the 7th of the same month, with the following resolutions to address the queen, "To appoint persons to inquire into the
 " number and quality of the forces in her majesty's pay in Spain
 " and Portugal; and to examine the state of the payments and
 " accounts relating to the said forces, and to the garrisons and
 " fortifications of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; and also the ac-
 " counts of the agent victuallers, and commissioners of stores
 " in those parts."

They also resolved to present two other; one, "That she
 " would be pleased to take such measures as her majesty should
 " judge most proper, for supporting the settlements in Africa,
 " and preserve the African trade, till some other provision be
 " made by parliament for the same; and that her majesty would
 " take into consideration the nature of that trade, and how it
 " might be best carried on for the service of the kingdom."
 The other, "That an account be laid before this house the be-
 " ginning of next session of parliament, of the distribution in-
 " tended to be made of the debentures directed to be delivered
 " by the commissioners of trade and plantations; for the relief
 " of the sufferers in the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's,
 " and the re-settlements made there by the said sufferers."
 The business of the nation having been thus sufficiently pro-
 vided for, the queen thought proper, on the 12th of the same
 month of June, to put an end to the session by a prorogation^o.

In the recess of parliament, the new ministry was completed, and they had time to form and regulate their designs. Robert Harley, Esq; who was then at the head of it; had, a little before the rising of the houses, been created earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, and had the staff of lord high-treasurer delivered to him; in order to give the greater lustre to his ministry^p, and Charles Benson, Esq; was constituted chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer^q. A new commission was granted for the board of trade and plantations, at the head of

^o Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 561. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 306. The complete history of Europe, for 1711, p. 232, 233.

^p Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 569. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 261. London Gazette, N^o. 4852, 4854.

^q London Gazette, N^o. 4859.

which was Charles earl of Winchelsea^r; and the lord-keeper Harcourt, was raised to the degree of a baron of this realm^s.

Such other promotions were made, as best suited with the designs of the new ministry; who, towards the end of the year, shewed plainly their inclination to a peace; which, however, they were forced to manage with very great caution. Neither was it without much anxiety, that they considered the approach of the next session of parliament; early in the month of December, as indeed they had good reason, since it was known, before the meeting of the houses, that the lords would very strongly represent against the making any peace, by which Spain and the West Indies were left to the house of Bourbon.

On the 7th of December, the queen opened the session with a speech, in which she spoke much of peace; of the improvement of commerce; of saving the people; of reforming abuses; of maintaining the poor; and, in short, of every thing that was proper to conciliate the minds of moderate people, who were not so solicitous about parties, as desirous of seeing their country happy^t. The house of lords entered, however, upon the measures that were expected^u; but the commons complied more readily with the inclinations of the court: and as soon as the estimates were laid before them, came to a resolution, that 40,000 seamen, including 8000 marines, should be employed for the sea service, and that 180,000 pounds should be granted for the ordinary of the navy. They likewise granted all that was required for the service of the war, and made provisions for raising the mighty sum given for the services of that year, and which amounted to no less than 6,656,967 pounds, very early, and with a remarkable cheerfulness; so that it looked as if the ministry were determined to make a peace sword in hand, and to take no step that might possibly encourage the enemy to think we would lay down our arms, till all the ends of the grand alliance were effectually answered^w.

^r London Gazette, N^o. 4860.

^s London Gazette, N^o. 4896.

^t Annals of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 282. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 226, London Gazette, N^o. 2936.

^u Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 583.

^w Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 528. The complete history of Europe, for 1711, p. 461. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 700.

Sir John Leake was now at the head of the admiralty, and in that quality managed the business of the board in the house of commons; and as the season for action advanced, he received a commission to command again in the channel, as he had done the year before; and the command of the squadron in the Soundings was left to Sir Thomas Hardy, whose proceedings we shall next resume, as a proper introduction to the operations of the year 1742. The rather, because the grand fleet did little more this year, than convoy a body of troops, commanded by lieutenant-general Hill, who were sent to take possession of Dunkirk; which service ended, they returned into the Downs^x; but, as to Sir Thomas Hardy, he continued to act effectually, and to take all the care that was in his power to distress the enemy in their naval concerns, till his diligence, in this respect, was superseded by the conclusion of the peace.

Early in the spring, he had intelligence of the return of M. du Caffé from America, for whom he cruized with the utmost diligence during the whole month of February; but with little or no success, except picking up now and then some small French vessels. He watched with the same assiduity for M. du Guai Trouin, but was again disappointed. In the beginning of the month of August, Sir Thomas chased six ships, and a tartan. One of them immediately hoisted a broad white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, shortened sail, and made a signal for the line of battle; and then tacked, and stood towards him, upon a supposition, as it was afterwards owned, that our ships were privateers from Flushing, with two prizes; but when they came nearer, and found their mistake, they kept their wind, and did all they could to make their escape, our ships pursuing them with the utmost diligence.

About five in the afternoon, the admiral came up with the biggest of them, which was the Griffin, a king's ship, but then in the service of the merchants^y. It was commanded by the chevalier d'Aire, knight of the order of St. Lewis, who shortened sail immediately, brought to, and sent some of his officers

^x *Mercuré historique et politique*, tom. liii. p. 100, 101.

^y Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. xxiv. Lediard, vol. ii. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tom. liii. p. 333.

on board our flag, to inform him, that he was bound with bale goods for La Vera Cruz, and that before he sailed from Brest, he had received letters from Paris, importing, that in a few days he might have had the queen of England's pass; but that his friends advised him not to lose a wind, in order to wait for it; but Sir Thomas told the lieutenant, that if they had no pass, he should look on the ship as a good prize; and accordingly sent his own lieutenant to take possession of her, himself, with the other ships of his squadron, continuing the chase. About eleven at night, the Windsor engaged the St. Esprit, a ship of thirty-six guns, and one hundred seventy-five men, laden with bale goods for Cadiz, and about an hour after she blew up, just as the captain had given orders to strike; but the captain, with about thirty-five men, were saved by our boats. The Berwick took the Adventure, of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; but the master producing the queen's pass, she had leave to continue her voyage. The same ship took also the Incomparable, of sixteen guns, bound for Martinico; and the Ruby man of war likewise took a small French ship of twelve guns, which was also called the Ruby, bound for St. Domingo; so that of this French squadron, only one ship of eight guns, and the tartan, escaped. The Griffin was certainly a good prize; but our ministers were so very desirous of obliging their new friends, that, after a long suit, in order to obtain the condemnation of the said vessel, Sir Thomas Hardy, and the rest of the captors, were obliged to accept of a sum of money, far short of the value of the ship and cargo, which has been justly considered as a hardship upon these brave men².

Vice-admiral Baker was, in the beginning of this year, at Lisbon, with a considerable squadron of our ships, from whence he sailed on the eighth of February, in order to cruise off

² Burchet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, complete history of Europe, for the year 1722. and the political treatises of that year. In these last mentioned pieces, this affair is very warmly treated. The truth seems to have been, that at this juncture, the English and French ministry stood in need of each other's indulgence, and therefore we need not wonder at a transaction of this sort, common enough in all governments, under circumstances of the like nature.

Cape St. Mary's^a. He had not been long in that station, before he ran a large Spanish ship of sixty guns on shore, upon the Portuguese coast, the wind being at that time so high that they durst not venture near her. The inhabitants of the country, however, went on board and plundered her; the cargo, consisting of sugar, cocoa, snuff, hides, and twenty thousand pieces of eight^b. The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the king of Portugal, setting forth his right to her, and demanding, that the effects taken in this clandestine manner, should be delivered up; but they were so effectually secreted, that it was not in the power of the court to give him any redress^c.

On his return to Lisbon, he found orders from England to cruise with five ships of war, for the security of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, on which service the court of Portugal desired he might proceed by the 9th of April, and that two frigates might be sent with their outward-bound East India fleet as far as the Madeiras. The vice-admiral was very willing to comply with this; but the difficulty was, how to do it without departing from his orders, since he had directions from the lords of the admiralty, to send two ships to cruise in the Straights mouth; however, he had hopes, that the Dutch commander in chief would have taken care of this East India fleet.

On the first of April, arrived a convoy with provisions and stores from England, which determined him, since the Dutch had disappointed the Portuguese in their expectations, to send a fourth rate frigate with the East India ships as far as the western islands, and to cruise himself for the Brazil fleet, in such a station, as that he might be easily joined by the before-mentioned ship; and at the same time he dispatched captain Maurice, with

^a Burchet's naval history, book v. chaps. xxiv. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome lii. p. 443.

^b Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 861. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome lii. p. 590. *Annals of queen Anne*.

^c All applications of any kind were very indifferently received at this court, from the beginning of the war to the end of it; which occasioned many reflections at home upon the old ministry, who did all they could to disguise these mischiefs, which were on the contrary rendered as public as possible, in order to serve their own purposes by the new.

a small squadron, to cruise in the Straights mouth. He continued cruising about the western islands for several months, under great apprehensions, that the French squadron under the command of M. Caffard, was bound for the Brasile; till, at last, the provisions on board his squadron being reduced to five weeks at short allowance, it was necessary for him to think of returning to Portugal; but being still apprehensive, that if the Brazil fleet sailed before the French squadron, the latter would undoubtedly follow them to the Terceras, where they knew that fleet must refresh; he resolved to continue in his station as long as it was possible, in order to which, he engaged the Portuguese to furnish him with three weeks fresh provisions. On the 11th of September, being off the islands of Tercera, he met with a Portuguese frigate, which informed him, that he had left the fleet but three days before, and that he believed they would be that day in the road of Angra, the chief town in the island of Tercera^d.

Soon after he had this advice, a violent storm arose, which very much shattered the ships, and drove him so far, that he could not fetch the island again; and judging that it must also have the same effect on the Brazil fleet; he made an easy sail towards Lisbon, in order to pick up such as should be straggling from their convoys; but had no sight or intelligence of them, till he came off the rock, when he found they arrived the very day before he made the land; and as the cessation of arms was soon after concluded, the squadron of ships under his command was called home^e.

Sir

^d Burchet's naval history, p. 791, 792. The complete history of Europe, for the year 1712. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome lii. p. 693.

^e The author of the conduct of the allies, that is, the late celebrated Dr. Swift, criticises upon those articles in the grand alliance, by which we were bound to take so much care of the concerns of this prince, very freely.—

“ By two articles of that treaty,” says he, “ besides the honour of being convoyed, and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts, we are to guess the enemies thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal's word, whenever he hath a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemies forces are, his Portuguese majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion, and may send our fleets
“ whenever

Sir John Jennings at this time commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean; and in the month of May joined the Dutch vice-admiral with the transports, having on board six thousand five hundred men, which were put on shore in two days time; and his imperial majesty and count Staremberg, pressing the necessity of carrying the cavalry over from Italy, it was resolved the admiral should return to Vado, from whence he sailed with the transports on the twenty-seventh of July, arrived at Barcelona on the seventh of August, where, soon after, he received the queen's orders for a suspension of arms, both by sea and land, and a letter from the lord Viscount Bolingbroke, directing him to suffer a great French corn-fleet to pass unmolested, every ship of which he must otherwise have taken; from this time, though the admiral was no longer concerned in military operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, since he transported the empress with her retinue, from Barcelona to Genoa, escorted thirty thousand men at two embarkations, from Catalonia to Naples, and afterwards carried over the duke and duchess of Savoy, from Villa Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily; which, though done in the succeeding year, I mention in this place; that I may not be obliged to return into the Mediterranean, merely to speak of matters of parade.

" whenever he pleases, upon his errands, to some of the furthest parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invasion, which I believe is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation. In the defensive alliance with this crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We, and the states, are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals."

f Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. xxxvi. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome lili. p. 131. tome liv. p. 476. Her imperial majesty presented Sir John Jennings, at his departure, with her picture set in diamonds, and gave his nephew also a very fine diamond ring. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome lv. p. 477.

We

We are next, according to the method hitherto consistently pursued, to return to the West Indies, where we left commodore Littleton, with a small squadron, protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy as much as his strength would permit; but the government having certain intelligence, that the French were sending a considerable force into that part of the world, in order to disturb our trade, and perhaps to attack some of the Leeward Islands; the court thought it necessary to send an officer of rank, with a considerable squadron thither, for which service they made choice of Sir Hovenden Walker; which shews, that the administration did not conceive he had brought any stain upon them by his conduct in the Canada expedition.

He received his commission in the beginning of the month of April, and on the 28th of the same month he sailed from St. Helen's, with about an hundred merchant-ships under his convoy^a. He parted on the 4th of May, being then fourteen leagues from Cape Finisterre, with the Litchfield and South-Sea-Castle, and the trade bound to Portugal; and arriving at the Madeiras with the Monmouth, a third rate, the August and Centurion, fourth rates, the Scarborough and Roebuck, fifth rates, and a frigate of twenty guns, it was determined to leave the Barbadoes trade there, under their proper convoy, consisting of the Woolwich, Swallow, and Lime; but that fleet, taking in their wine sooner than usual, sailed with the squadron on the 28th of the same month for the West Indies.

On the 24th of June, admiral Walker arrived at Antigua, where the governor was more apprehensive of an insurrection amongst the inhabitants, than of an invasion from the French; and indeed things were at that time in a very unsettled condition in the Leeward Islands, where the governor, colonel Douglas, was upon almost as bad terms with the people as his predecessor, colonel Parke, whom they murdered for his tyrannical behaviour. Admiral Walker promised the governor, that if any thing like an insurrection happened, he would send him any assistance he should require from Jamaica; but advised him to

^a Burehet's naval history, book v. chap. xxxiii. Ledard's naval history, vol. II. p. 859. Boyer's life of Queen Anne.

treat the people with lenity, and to consider, that though he was sent over with instructions to prosecute such as were concerned in destroying the late governor, yet this was to be done in a legal manner, and with due regard to the liberty of the subject, and the monstrous provocations they had received, before they had proceeded to extremities, not justifiable indeed; but, at the same time, not altogether inexcusable. But this governor, who was so careful of his own safety, gave him not the least intelligence that a French squadron was expected in those parts; though, if he had taken any pains to be properly informed, he might have known that the French at Martinico expected, at this very time, the arrival of M. Cassard, with nine men of war. Sir Hovenden Walker sailing from thence, arrived safely at Jamaica on the 6th of July, where having made the necessary dispositions for sending home the trade, and stationing properly the ships under his command, he received, when he least expected it, the news by an advice-boat, of an attempt made by the French upon Antigua and Montserrat¹.

This expedition of monsieur Cassard deserves to be particularly taken notice of. He sailed from Toulon with a stout squadron of the king's ships, and is said to have had general instructions to annoy their enemies. As there was, even at this time, a negociation carrying on between the British and French ministers, it is surprising that the latter did not give him orders to forbear attacking our colonies, till such time as he received intelligence from France, the neglect of which occasioned great murmuring in England, and might have retarded the peace, if the news had arrived before it was so far advanced². M. Cassard

¹ Burchet's naval history, p. 782. British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345. and, if the reader is inclined to inquire particularly into the affair of colonel Parkes, Mr. French's history of that transaction, and the answer to it.

² I have been informed, by some who were very well acquainted with the politics of the French court, that this expedition was projected in revenge of that undertaken against Quebec, of which the French have quite different notions from those that prevailed here; and with reason, since, however it was executed, it was unquestionably well contrived, especially as the authors of it had even then a peace in their heads, by which they would without doubt have got any conquest that might have been made by that fleet effectually secured.

ward sailed first to St. Jago, which is the principal of the islands of Cape de Verde, of which he made himself master without much difficulty, and having blown up the fort, and carried off whatever he could meet with, continued his voyage for the West Indies, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of July; and having drawn together in Martinico upwards of three thousand men, he had thoughts of attacking Antigua; but finding it very difficult to land there, he fell upon Montserrat, where he met with a very feeble resistance; the inhabitants retiring into the heart of the island, because in the mountains they had a fortress almost inaccessible. The French continued upon the place some days, doing all the mischief possible; but having information that several of our ships were coming to the relief of the island, they abandoned it, though not till they had in a manner totally destroyed all the settlements in it¹.

Some mischief they did to our trade on the coast of Antigua, but finding themselves very much disliked by such as wished well to peace, they resolved to give over cruising upon the English; upon which they prepared every thing necessary for a longer voyage, and then stood over to the continent, where they attacked the Dutch settlement of Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to pay them eight hundred thousand pieces of eight by way of contribution; this was in the month of October; and, in the mean time, captain Archibald Hamilton, in her majesty's ship the Woolwich, having received an account at Antigua of the cessation of arms; and that the French had, notwithstanding, carried several prizes into Martinico; he sent a ship thither to demand them of Mr. Phelypeaux, general of the French islands, who ordered all of them to be restored, and such goods as had been taken out of them to be put on board again².

But the French probably designed a general interruption of the commerce of the allies, in order to bring them sooner to a peace; for, as the reader sees in the text, M. Cassard did not attack us alone, but the Portuguese also, and the Dutch.

¹ P. Daniel, *journal historique de Louis XIV.* p. 290. *Memoires historiques. Mercure historique et politique*, tome liii. p. 294, 433, 569.

² Burchet's naval history, p. 784, 785. Lediard, vol. ii. *History of the last war.* Boyer's life of queen Anne.

Sir Hovenden Walker, in the mean time, remained at Jamaica, where he gave the necessary orders for the security of the trade, for cruizing on the French coast, and for protecting the private commerce of the inhabitants with the Spaniards at Porto Bello, St. Domingo, and other places. While he was thus employed, there happened, in the night of the 29th of August, a hurricane much more violent than had been felt for many years in the island. It began about nine at night, and continued raging with the utmost vehemence till twelve. The lightning, in the mean time, covered the earth in continued gleams of sulphureous fire, the wind blowing all the time, not only with prodigious force, but with a horrid noise. In the morning a most dreadful prospect appeared, many houses blown flat upon the ground, most of the rest stripped and laid open; trees torn up by the roots; the west end of the church ruined by the fall of its walls; the governor's house dismantled, and scarce a dwelling in the island remaining untouched. Several people were drowned on the shore, in the tempest, the sea forcing the boats and canoes a great way upon land at Spanish-town, and washing away the houses; so that, what with the wind and the water, there was not above two standing, and few or none of the ships of war, but were either driven ashore, lost their masts, or were otherwise disabled. The hospital was blown down to the ground, and several of the sick people killed; and, on the first of September, a third rate, the Monmouth, which had been on the coast of Hispaniola, came in with jury-masts, having lost her proper masts in the violence of the weather, and another, if her main-mast had not given way, must (as her commander believed) have instantly overset. It required some time to repair the damages which her majesty's ships sustained by this unfortunate accident; and, while this was doing, a very great desertion happened among our sailors, owing chiefly to the arts and intrigues of the captains of privateers, who made no scruple of preferring their private advantage to the security of commerce, and the welfare of their country. By that time the disputes which these transactions occasioned were tolerably composed, Sir Hovenden Walker received an order from the lords of the admiralty, to return home, after having first proclaimed the

cessation of arms, which he accordingly did, and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived in Dover road on the 26th of May, 1713^a.

We are now arrived at the period of the naval operations in this war, and our next business will be to give an account of what advantages were gained, and of what might have been gained by the succeeding peace. It will however be proper, previous to this, to observe, that the administration had some disputes with their old friends, and their new ones, in relation to the affairs of commerce, before the peace was concluded^c.

In

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 785. British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345. The complete history of Europe, for 1712, p. 24.

^c It will appear in the next note, that we thought ourselves much injured by the manner in which the Dutch conducted the war at sea. Here, therefore, from the author of the conduct of the allies, I will take notice of some complaints that were made of another nature, with a view to have it understood, that the carrying on the war was a thing now no longer practicable. By the grand alliance between the empire, England and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *toto viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportion which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: The emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and we forty thousand. In the winter, 1702, which was the next year, the duke of Marlborough proposed the raising of ten thousand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was, upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted, with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed, the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration till our session of parliament was ended, and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the states, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, further additional taxes were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply the Dutch gradually lessened their proportion, although the parliament addressed the queen, that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that at length things were just inverted, and in all new levies we contributed a third more than the Dutch; who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than us. Besides, the more towns we conquered for the States, the worse condition we were in towards reducing the common enemy,

and

In the first place, it was thought a little hard that the Dutch; throughout the whole course of this long and expensive war; should not have furnished their quota of ships and men in any one year; and this notwithstanding repeated expostulations with the States-general upon this subject^P. With this grievance the nation

and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they made no scruple of employing the troops of their quota, towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it was taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us; by which all garrisons were particularly excluded. This at length arrived, by several steps, to such a height, that there were not the last year in the field, so many forces under the duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintained for that service; nor had been for some years past.

P This parliamentary representation was made on the 4th of March, 1712, and the paragraphs particularly referred to in the text, are these that follow :

“ For obtaining the ends specified in the grand alliance, the three confederate powers engaged to assist each other with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose. We do not find that any such convention was ever ratified; but it appears that there was an agreement concluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were, from the beginning, regulated and founded. The terms of that agreement were : That, for the service at land, his imperial majesty should furnish ninety thousand men; the king of Great Britain forty thousand, and the States-general one hundred and two thousand, of which there were forty-two thousand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand to act against the common enemy in the field; and with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and the States-general, the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three eighths on the part of the States-general.

“ Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which time the whole yearly expence of it to England, amounted to three millions, seven hundred and six thousand, four hundred and ninety-four pounds. A very great charge it was then thought by your majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed, from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them; for it appears, by estimates given in to your commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service of this present year, in the same manner it was performed the last year, amount to more than six millions, nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds, besides interest for the public debt, and the deficiencies accruing the last year; which two articles require one million, one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds more; so that the whole demand upon your commons are risen to more than eight millions

nation was acquainted, and expressed no small resentment thereat, notwithstanding the pains taken by the friends of the Dutch to persuade them of the contrary.

To say the truth, the matter was carried very high on both sides; for the house of commons, having represented these omisions in our allies, as indubitable matters of fact, in order to justify the measures that were taking towards a peace, it was but natural for the states, who were averse to that peace, to reply as they did to this accusation; which, however, instead of satisfying, provoked the house of commons to such a degree, that, upon the printing of the answer they gave here, they de-

“ lions for the present annual supply. We know your majesty’s tender regard
 “ for the welfare of your people, will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a
 “ pressure as this upon them; and as we are assured, it will fully convince your
 “ majesty of the necessity of our present inquiry, so we beg leave to represent to
 “ you from what causes, and by what steps this immense charge appears to have
 “ grown upon us.

“ The service at sea, as it has been very large and extensive in itself, so it
 “ hath been carried on through the whole course of the war, in a manner
 “ highly disadvantageous to your majesty, and your kingdom; for the necessity of affairs requiring that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as
 “ well for maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any
 “ force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of
 “ West France; your majesty’s example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships, for all parts of that service, have been so far from pre-
 “ vailing with the States-general to keep pace with you, that they have been
 “ deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your majesty
 “ hath furnished, sometimes no less than two-thirds, and generally more than
 “ half of their quota. From hence your majesty has been obliged, for the
 “ preventing disappointments in the most pressing service, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor hath the single increase of such a charge, been the only ill consequence that attended
 “ it; for by this means the debt of the navy hath been enhanced: so that the
 “ discounts arising from the credit of it, have affected all other parts of the
 “ service. From the same cause your majesty’s ships of war have been forced,
 “ in greater numbers, to continue in remote seas, and at unreasonable times
 “ of the year, to the great damage and decay of the British navy. This also
 “ hath been the occasion that your majesty hath been straitened in your
 “ voyes for trade; your coasts have been exposed, for want of a sufficient
 “ number of cruisers to guard them, and you have been disabled from annoy-
 “ ing the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies,
 “ from whence they received those vast supplies of treasure, without which they
 “ could not have supported the expences of this war.”

clared

clared that this was a breach of privilege, and the paper itself a scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel; for which the printer was put in prison, which prevented the publishing the remainder of the States representation⁹; this was looked upon as a very strange procedure, and which seemed calculated rather to give credit to that representation, than to refute it; which, however, might have been easily done; for that we really bore a greater proportion of expence in this respect during the war, than we ought to have done, is a thing very certain; but it is the fault of all administrations, to be rather inclined to such short answers as may be given by acts of power, than to those that might be furnished by the exercise of reason; and for this they are deservedly punished, by being often thought tyrannical in those acts, the justice of which might be easily defended. In this case, however, the nation concurred in opinion with

⁹ The States-general, by their memorial presented to the queen, April 3, 1712, observe, that the grand alliance only specifies, that all the contracting parties shall prosecute this war with their whole force; and therefore, if the States have exerted the utmost of their force, they have fulfilled their engagements; but they insist further, that the ships furnished for the north sea, had been left out, notwithstanding those ships were for the joint service; and they alledge further, that the number of ships which the States were to employ, ought to be regulated, not by the number actually put into commission by England, but by the number that was fit and reasonable for England to put into commission, or at least by the number proposed to the States, upon settling the annual quotas for the war. As the States had the paper drawn up by order of the lords of the admiralty, and signed by Mr. secretary Burchet, containing an account of the English and Dutch ships fitted out during the war; so they likewise thought proper to add another account of their own, which they professed themselves able to make good from authentic vouchers; and as we cannot transcribe all these papers at large, we shall content ourselves with making an abstract of both accounts, in which the first column consists of the year; the second of the English men of war; the third of the ships of the States-general, according to Mr. Burchet's account; and the fourth of the ships according to their own. This paper having been printed in part, in the Daily Courant of Monday, April 7, 1712, the house of commons came thereupon to the resolution mentioned in the text, and committed Mr. Samuel Buckley for printing it, who remained in custody during the remainder of the session.

1702	74	33	55	1707	72	27	49
1703	79	22	50	1708	69	25	53
1704	74	18	56	1709	60	11	50
1705	79	20	56	1710	62	13	43
1706	78	15	59	1711	59	12	40

their

their representatives, and things went on, upon a supposition that this charge against the Dutch was fully made out; which encouraged the friends of the ministry to attack the rest of our allies, particularly the emperor, on the same subject: but, as these altercations have no immediate concern with the proper business of this work, I shall not insist upon them, but leave them with this remark, that in all future alliances, our ministers ought to be careful, not only in making the best terms they can for the nation, but also in seeing those terms punctually fulfilled, since it is impossible, especially under our present circumstances, for the nation to bear with patience such acts of indulgence towards foreigners, at their expence, when it is visible, that, with all their industry, the inhabitants of Great Britain are scarce able to support the necessary charges of their government, joined to that vast expence which their generous concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the liberty of their neighbours hath brought upon them^r.

The difference with the French court was occasioned chiefly from M. Caffard's expedition in the West Indies, as we have before hinted. The French ministry, who knew the importance of being well at that time with the people of Great Britain, absolutely disclaimed that commander; insisting that he had only general instructions, that he had misapplied them, and that proper satisfaction should be given. On the other hand, the British ministry were too far advanced in their pacific measures, to think of retreating, and so were content with these excuses, without insisting on the punishment of this officer; which, if what the French court said was true, he certainly deserved.

^r The best use that can be made of history, is to correct, in our times, the errors committed in those of our ancestors, and certainly there are, among these, some which better deserve our attention, than the conduct our ministers have pursued, when we have engaged in confederacy with our neighbours. A confederacy implies a joint concern, and if, while this subsists, the whole, or by far the greatest part of the expence is thrown upon any one of the allied powers, it argues injustice in the rest, and weakness in such as are intrusted with the concerns of the injured power. There is actually no more public spirit in a minister, loading clandestinely his countrymen with more than they ought to pay, than there is charity in a great man's steward, who relieves the poor out of his master's estate, while his creditors remain unsatisfied.

The first great step to the peace was getting Dunkirk put into our hands, which was represented as a thing impossible; and with the promise of which the French only amused us. On the 11th of July, however, arrived an express, with the news, that a few days before, the town, citadel, Rysbank; and all the fortifications of that important place, were delivered up to brigadier Hill, whom her majesty appointed governor and commander in chief*. Her majesty, thenceforward, treated openly with the French court; though always under a promise that due care should be taken of the allies; and for this the ministry pleaded many things in their own justification. For, first, they alledged; that since the king of Spain was become emperor, it was no longer requisite to insist upon his having the whole dominions of the Spanish monarchy: they insisted next; that if it had been ever so requisite, the thing was impracticable, the nation having found, by experience; that it was impossible to carry on the war in Spain to any purpose. This had indeed been long a point out of dispute; one of the warmest partisans of the house of Austria having freely declared as much a good while before, in a debate in the house of lords; but added at the same time, though it was impracticable, a vote that no peace could be made; if Spain and the Indies were left to the house of Bourbon, was expedient at that juncture; and yet upon this expedient, and at the same time impracticable vote, all the clamours were afterwards raised. The friends to the treaty said farther, that the nation was unable to carry on the war longer, especially in the manner in which it had been carried on; and that therefore, how much soever we might hate our enemies, it was necessary to make a peace, if we had any regard for ourselves. They added, besides, that they intended to make a peace on the plan of the general alliance, every article of which, they said, had been broke through, by subsequent agreements during the course of the war; so that they would be thought to have the cause of liberty, and the balance of power more at heart, than even those who were for carrying on the war.

* Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 610. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 504. The complete hist. of Europe, for 1712, p. 330.

On the 19th of August, 1712, an instrument for a suspension of arms was signed at Paris, by the lord viscount Bolingbroke, and the marquis de Torcy, for four months^c; and, in consequence of this, the necessary measures were taken for completing the peace: king Philip of Spain summoned a cortes, or general assembly of the states of his kingdom, before whom, and with whose consent, he made a renunciation of the crown of France, the queen having before appointed lord Lexington to be present at that ceremony. The negotiations at Utrecht, however, went on very slowly, notwithstanding the pains taken by the earl of Strafford^d, and doctor Robinson, bishop of Bristol, her majesty's plenipotentiaries; and the great activity of the French ministers, who were the marshal d'Uxelles, a very able statesman, of whom prince Eugene said, with great spirit, upon this occasion, that he was the only French marshal he feared; the famous Abbé de Polignac, afterwards cardinal by the same title, the ablest head in France; and M. Mefnager, now raised to the title of count de St. John, who was entrusted with the first negotiations; and from this slowness it was found necessary to renew the suspension of arms four months longer^e.

At last, when the great influence of the queen was discerned, by her procuring the kingdom of Sicily for her cousin the duke of Savoy, which was her majesty's own act, the allies, most of them, thought fit to comply, and accept the terms she had stipulated for them, though with a visible reluctance. The emperor only remained firm to his first resolution, and made the necessary dispositions for carrying on the war alone; consenting, however, to evacuate Catalonia, and to accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic majesty. On the

^c Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 609. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Lamberti memoires, &c. tome vii. p. 482. Actes & memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tome ii. p. 16. Mercure historique et politique, tome liv. p. 82.

^d The connection necessary in the text, obliges me to mention here, that about the latter end of August, her majesty appointed the earl of Strafford, Sir John Leske, Sir George Byng, knts. Sir William Drake, bart. John Ainslie, Esq; Sir James Wilbart, knt. and George Clarke, Esq; to be commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain.

^e Lamberti memoires, &c. vol. viii. p. 1. Memoires de marquis de Torcy, tome ii. Actes & memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tome ii. p. 161. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 612. Oldmixon. Mercure historique et politique, tome liv. p. 84.

19th of January, 1712-13, the new treaty of barrier and succession was signed by the ministers of Great Britain, and of the States General, whereby the latter obtained a mighty accession of territories, and a very great increase of power. On the 1st of March, the instruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and on the 4th of the same month, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Orleans, renounced their right to the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris. These preliminaries being thus settled, the great work advanced more briskly, and by the end of the month, it was brought to its conclusion².

On the first of April, 1713⁷, the famous treaty of Utrecht was signed, as some would have us believe, in a clandestine manner. The truth was, that, to prevent disputes and protests, which might have furnished matter for dangerous pursuits in England, it was resolved to sign the treaty privately, at the house of the bishop of Bristol, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference; which being a thing frequent during that congress, rendered the matter less suspected. The earl of Strafford, and the bishop of Bristol, signed first; then the ministers of the duke of Savoy, declared king of Sicily by that treaty; those of the king of Portugal after them; then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Prussia, and those of the States-General last of all. The whole was over about two in the morning, occasioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were signed; and when the business was ended, the respective ministers withdrew to their own places of residence, without any noise, or without directing any public rejoicings, as might have been expected upon such an occasion³.

I have been the more particular in these circumstances, because some historians have represented them as matters of great importance. To speak impartially, I think there is very little, if any thing, in them; for in most separate peaces, the same

² Boyer's life of queen Anne. Lamberti memoires, tome viii. p. 34. *Actes & memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht*, tome ii, p. 260. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome liv. p. 230, 339.

³ Corps universel diplomatique, tome viii. p. 1. p. 339.

⁴ Lamberti, tome viii. p. 71. *Journal historique de Louis XIV.* p. 293. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome liv. p. 452.

thing has been done, particularly in that of Nimeguen; and I could name other, perhaps later, examples of a like conduct; so that, upon the whole, this ought to be considered rather as a misfortune than a fault. I shall not pretend to insist, that all was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, that might have been obtained from France, after so long and so successful a war; but undoubtedly there was much obtained, and more might have been obtained, if it had not been for the disturbance given to the ministers at home, since, whatever people may suggest, all parties are alike friends to France, who thwart public measures, from a pure spirit of opposition. The Tories had embarrassed the Whigs in their administration, during the last years of the war; and the Whigs, in return, were resolved to make the Tories as uneasy as possible, in their project of making a peace. Both parties were in their turns gainers by this manner of acting; but both were gainers at the expence of the nation; and therefore as they have no reason, they have as little right to reproach each other^a.

I have

^a The earl of Oxford, in the close of his answer to the articles of impeachment, gives a very full and clear account of the motives to the peace upon his own knowledge; and as they are hid in such a piece, to which few readers resort for satisfaction in matters of this nature, I thought it might not be amiss, to make this subject the clearer, to afford them a place at the bottom of the page. As to the peace in general, he (the said earl) thinks he has very good reason to say, that the queen had nothing more at heart, than to procure for great a blessing for her people; and that, when it was obtained, she had this satisfaction in herself, that she had taken the most proper methods to justify her conduct, both towards her allies, and towards her own subjects. For, upon a review of her majesty's whole proceeding, in relation to war and peace; he believes it will appear, and hath in part appeared, by the answer of the said earl to the said articles, that, as her majesty entered further into the war than she was obliged by any treaties subsisting at the time of her accession to the throne, so she contributed more men and money towards the carrying it on afterwards, than she was engaged to provide by any subsequent treaties. That her earnest desires of peace being twice frustrated, when such conditions might have been obtained, as would have fully answered all the ends for which war was at first declared: that all our successes and victories ending in the annual increase of the charge of England, without any further assistance from our allies, and her kingdom being exhausted to such a degree (notwithstanding the great advantages obtained by her arms) that she was not able to continue the war, upon the foot it then stood, one year longer, whilst her allies refused to continue it upon those equal conditions.

I have said, there was much obtained by the treaty of Utrecht; it is requisite that I should make this good, because for many years, the contrary has been taken for granted; and I dare say, there are many thousands of people in England, who think we lost much, and none of our allies got any thing by that peace. The true standard for adjusting this, must be the ends of the war; for as no war can be just, in which the aggressors know not for what they fight, so no peace can be a bad one, by which the ends of the war are obtained.

In the first place, we fought against France to settle ourselves; that crown had never explicitly acknowledged our government here at home. We fought next, for settling the balance of power in Europe, by obtaining a reasonable satisfaction for the claims of the house of Austria to Spain and the Indies. Another motive to the war was, the securing a barrier to the Dutch,

conditions to which they were by treaties obliged: she was at last constrained, in compassion to her people, to hearken to the overtures of peace then made her from France, without relying further on the vain hopes of gaining more advantageous terms, by protracting the war a year longer. She had carried it on for some time under that prospect, without reaping the benefits proposed, even at junctures that seemed most favourable to her demands, and to the pretensions of her allies. She had, indeed, by that means, raised the glory of her arms; but she could not think this a sufficient recompence for the increasing miseries of her people, and therefore resolved to lay hold of this opportunity, then offered to her, of ending the war with a peace, if it might be obtained upon terms every way just, safe, and honourable; and those who were then employed in her majesty's councils, thought themselves obliged to second her good intentions in this case, and to obey her commands with all readiness. The said earl pretumes, on this occasion, to mention to your lordships, the saying of as wise a man, and as great a general as the last age produced, the duke of Parma, when France was in a far lower condition than now, being almost equally divided between two contending parties, and Spain was at the height of its glory, and he himself at the head of a Spanish army, supported one of those parties, after Parma itself had been besieged by the other; it was his opinion, (and the advice he gave to his majesty the king of Spain was grounded upon it), "That if France were to be got, only by reducing its towns, the world would sooner be at an end than such a war." The queen seemed at this time, with better reason, to frame the like judgment, and it was therefore her pleasure, and a great instance (as the said earl conceives) of her wisdom and goodness, to think of securing a peace, while she appeared able to carry on the war, her armies being full and numerous, and before the exhausted condition of her kingdoms, and the impossibility, on her side, of maintaining so disproportionate an expence, was discovered by her enemies.

and

and an adequate recompence to the rest of our allies, for the injuries they had received from France. Let us see now what was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, upon these several heads. In the first place, the title of queen Anne was acknowledged in the strongest and most explicit terms; the settlement of the succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, was likewise owned, and the person who claimed before the queen, and to defeat whose pretensions the act of settlement was made, was excluded the dominions of France, and his most Christian majesty promised never to admit him again, though he had owned him over and over; and he likewise promised never to assist or protect him, or any of his adherents. As to the second, a reasonable satisfaction was obtained for the emperor, though he refused to accept it; and the most solemn renunciations of the two branches of the house of Bourbon, are inserted in the body of the treaty itself, in order, as far as the thing was possible, to secure all Europe against the apprehensions of seeing the crowns of France and Spain devolve upon one prince; and, to obviate another objection as to the commerce of New Spain, it is expressly provided, that the French should enjoy no privilege of navigation thither, beyond what had been enjoyed under the kings of Spain of the Austrian line. In regard to our allies, it is plain, that the duke of Savoy, who indeed well deserved it, having steadily adhered to the alliance in times of the deepest distress, had full satisfaction given him, and in such a manner too, as had a visible tendency to the properly fixing the balance of power; and the kings of Portugal, Prussia, and the States, were likewise satisfied.

I know it may be said, that there was a force upon the latter; but I know people are very unfit judges in their own cause, and that the States got by this treaty, not only such a barrier as seemed reasonable to us, but as good a one as the emperor thought fit for them, after all our successes, and when the allies were upon the best terms with each other. To say then, that the treaty of Utrecht did nothing, and that all our expenses, and all our victories in that long war, were absolutely thrown away, is much beyond the truth; but that a better treaty might have

have been made, I shall not dispute, because I think there is no arguing about possibilities.

Before I part with this treaty, however, I must observe, that it was very extraordinary in one respect; it procured us much greater advantages, I mean the people of Great Britain, as a trading nation, than any treaty with which I am acquainted either before or since; and upon these, I must particularly insist, because they are immediately within my province. We have seen that Dunkirk was long before put into our hands; let us now see what was to become of it; and because this is a point that has been since, and may be hereafter, attended with warm disputes, I think it necessary to transcribe the ninth article of the treaty, by which this great point (great indeed, if we consider either the humbling France, or securing ourselves) was effectually settled. Thus it runs: "The most Christian king shall take care, that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk be razed; that the harbour be filled up; and that the sluices, or moles, which serve to cleanse the harbour, be levelled, and that at the same king's own expence, within the space of five months after the conditions of peace are concluded and signed; that is to say, the fortifications towards the sea, within the space of two months; and those towards the land, together with the said banks, within three months; on this express condition also, that the said fortifications, harbour, moles, or sluices, be never repaired again."

The demolition of this place was of prodigious importance; it lies but thirteen leagues from the south Foreland, and any easter-

^b The account bishop Burnet has given us, will be sufficient to clear up to the reader, the satisfaction secured to the princes and states engaged with us in the war. "As for the allies," says he, "Portugal and Savoy were satisfied; the emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; and Sardinia, with the same title, was to be given to the elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses; the states were to deliver up Lise, and the little places about it; and besides the places of which they were possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport; the king of Prussia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and the other estates which the family had in Franche Comte." This was all I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our treaty; the emperor was to have time, to the first of June, to declare his accepting of it.

ly wind, which carries our ships down the channel, brings out those at Dunkirk, to meet and intercept them; which, during the two wars preceding this treaty, made it often suspected, that the French had intelligence, either from our admiralty, or secretary's office; though very probably without foundation, since the very situation of the place furnished the enemy with advantages enough; for the east end of the channel, which is so much exposed to Dunkirk, is but seven leagues broad, and gives them an opportunity of seeing our ships from side to side. It clearly appears from hence, that six parts in nine of our trade from the port of London, were freed from most of the hazards felt in those wars; and though part of this must be exposed when it passes through the chops, or western entrance of the channel, yet it must be considered, that it was liable also to this before, so that no new inconvenience is created: and besides, this is only the south trade; such ships as go to Holland, Ham-
burgh, or the north, are absolutely free. Besides all this, the demolition of DUNKIRK was an inexpressible blow to the French naval power, and even to their trade, especially to the West Indies; so that a clearer proof could not be of our superior force, and of their distress, than the submission of France to this article. It is true, they endeavoured to shift off, and afterwards to mitigate the execution of it; but in vain. The queen insisted upon Dunkirk's being demolished effectually, according to the letter, and it was demolished as effectually as could be desired; whether ever it shall be restored, or if in time of war restored, suffered to continue, so as to become, as in times past, a terror to the English nation, depends upon ourselves and future administrations^c.

By the 10th and 11th articles, the countries comprised in the charter of the Hudson's-bay company, of which the French had got possession, partly in the time of peace, and partly in that of war, were to be restored; and not only restored, but his most Christian majesty farther stipulated, that whatever had been taken

^c Burnet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, for the year 1713, life of queen Anne, continuation of Rapin's history, the importance of Dunkirk considered, French faith in the demolition of Dunkirk, and many other pamphlets upon the same subject, published in those times.

in time of peace, or whatever injuries had been done to the Hudson's-bay company, before the commencement of the war, should be fairly examined, and full satisfaction made. The like is stipulated with respect to the depredations by M. Caffard, in the Leeward Islands, after the negotiations for peace were begun.

By the 12th article, the island of St. Christopher, and the whole country of Nova Scotia, are yielded to the queen of Great Britain, as by the 13th article, is the whole country of Newfoundland; but the island of Cape Breton, is by the same article given up to France, which has been represented as a monstrous piece of complaisance, though there seems to be great reason to believe, it was much less owing to the inclination of the English ministers, than to their inability of standing out any longer against the opposition carried on at home; and for this reason it is made one of the charges against the earl of Oxford, in the 13th article of his impeachment, wherein it was affirmed; that Cape Breton was part of Nova Scotia; and the earl in his answer to that article asserts, that he had gone no farther than king William had gone in the treaty of Ryswick. But, however we might fail as to the point of Cape Breton, yet undoubtedly we acquired more by the treaty of Utrecht, than by any of our former treaties; I mean at the expence of the French, who at the time this treaty was signed, were actually in possession of Placentia in Newfoundland^d.

But,

^d The earl of Oxford, even after he was impeached, thought he had a right to value himself upon this treaty; and therefore, in his answer, after having taken notice of the difficulties to which we were reduced by the war, he proceeds to speak in the following terms, of the advantages accruing from the treaty of Utrecht. At this juncture the queen entered upon a negotiation of peace, with circumstances of great honour to herself: France applying to her first on this account, previously owning her title, and acknowledging the right of the Protestant succession, two chief grounds upon which the declaration of the last war was built. As to the allies, it was conducted in the same manner as all treaties of peace, in confederacies, have ever been, and according to the known laws of nations in such cases, the first motion and the several steps to it, as fast as they ripened into proposals fit for consideration, being, without delay, communicated to the States General. By the terms of this peace, as all reasonable satisfaction and security, due to any of the allies by treaty, were obtained for them by the queen, and their just pretensions effectually supported, so larger

But, besides these mighty advantages, there were others still more considerable (the demolition of Dunkirk only excepted) procured from the crown of Spain; for by the 10th article, the full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great Britain, in propriety, to be held and enjoyed absolutely, with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever. By the 11th article, his Catholic majesty doth in like manner, for himself, his heirs, and successors, yield to the crown of England, the whole island of Minorca, transferring to the said crown for ever, all right, and the most absolute dominion over the said island, and in particular over the town, castle, and fortifications of Port Mahon. All that Spain reserves to itself, being no more than the right of pre-emption, in case the crown of Great Britain shall at any time think fit to alienate or dispose of the said fortress of Gibraltar, or island of Minorca. By the 13th and 15th articles, the Affiento treaty is confirmed as fully, effectually, and authentically, as if the same had been repeated word for word in the said treaty, which was signed at Utrecht, on the 2d of July, O. S. by the bishop of Bristol, then lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, her majesty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke de Oñu-

advantages were actually procured for Great Britain, in particular, than ever had been demanded before, in any treaty of negotiation between this and any other foreign state. The said earl craves leave on this occasion, to appeal to your lordships, whether all the ends for which the war was entered into, have or by this treaty been fully attained? Whether it does not appear by the best of proofs, experience, that the kingdoms of France and Spain, are, by the conventions of this treaty, most effectually separated? And whether any other expedient could have been so successful to this purpose, as that whereby it is now happily brought about? Whether the balance of power in Europe be not now upon a better foot, than it has been for an hundred years past? Whether the advantages that have accrued to Great Britain by this treaty, do not appear, and have not appeared, in the security of the Protestant succession, and in his majesty's peaceable accession to the throne, with the universal applause of his subjects; in the addition made to our wealth in the great quantities of bullion lately coined at the mint; by the vast increase of shipping employed since the peace, in the fishery, and in merchandize, and by the remarkable rise of the customs upon import, and of our manufactures, and the growth of our country upon export? For the proof of which particulars, he refers himself to those offices and books, wherein an authentic account of them is contained.

na, and the marquis de Monteleon, plenipotentiaries from his Catholic majesty^c.

The *Assiento* has since made so great a figure in our histories, and there will be such frequent occasion to mention it in the subsequent part of this work, (as that contract was the basis of the South Sea trade), that I find myself under a necessity, as well for the sake of order and perspicuity, as for the performance of what I promised, to enter into a full and regular account of all the steps taken for erecting and establishing this great company, which was one of the most signal performances of the Oxford ministry^f.

The earl of Godolphin, and his friends, had been peculiarly happy in the conduct of public affairs, and the maintainance of public credit, so long as the opposition given them did not rise so high, as to hinder their carrying public points in the house of commons; but after they once found themselves in that situation, their difficulties grew upon them daily, so that they were forced to contract debts in the public service, exclusive of such as were contracted, and provided for annually by parliament. At first these debts were seldom mentioned, some of them being pretty old, and others incurred by deficiencies, and the application of funds to other services than those for which they were originally designed. The drawing these debts out of obscurity, and de-

^c As to this treaty with Spain, the earl of Oxford, in his answer to the importment, let us into a fact of very great import; for, says he, as for the matters concerted previously with France, for the particular interest of England, without the original intervention of Holland, the States were so far from protesting against her majesty's measures, and condemning her conduct in this respect, that their minister proffered several times, in their name, to have led the way in the most difficult part of the whole negotiation, and to have done his utmost to facilitate the conclusion of it, provided his masters might have a share in the *Assiento* contract, and trade to the Spanish West Indies, one of those advantages which France had discovered its willingness should be allowed, previously, and entirely to England.

^f Subsequent events may mislead us, in respect to the value of this concession. But if experience, (for we actually had this contract for negroes in the reign of king William); if the opinion of other nations, (for the French lost it with regret, and the Dutch were eager for a share in it), or the sense of our Spanish merchants, could ascertain the point, this was a valuable acquisition.

declaring them unprovided for, was one of the first acts of the new ministry^a.

Their next care was, to form the proprietors of these debts into a new company, which, they conceived, would be as much dependent upon, and as useful to them, as the bank, or East India company had been to the former ministry. But the business was, to find out a proper pretence of erecting such a new company; and this was very happily found, and very dextrously applied. It was always matter of wonder to the greatest part of this nation, why the war was not pushed in the West Indies; especially, since there was a clause in the grand alliance, whereby we were intitled to hold whatever we could conquer in those parts. Some political reasons, however, restrained the vigour of our arms in that particular; and this, though the old ministry were very little to blame in it, made one great topic of public clamour^b.

When a thing is once made the theme of common discourse, many lights come to be struck out in relation to it, that were not thought of before; and this was the case here: some mer-

^a The debts declared by the statute, are as follow :

Debt to the navy, old, new, and deficient	—	—	5,130,559
Debt to the ordnance	—	—	154,324
Debt to transport-service	—	—	424,791
Old army-debentures of last war	—	—	1,018,556
Deficient tillies & Guliel.	—	—	12,024
Provisions for the navy, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1710	—	—	378,559
Subsidies to the duchy of Hanover, 1696	—	—	85,000
Interest on ditto, from Christmas 1710 and 1711	—	—	9,375
Loans on customs, &c. 8 Annæ	—	—	1,296,552
Interest on ditto	—	—	74,576
Interest on the whole from Lady-day to Christmas, 1711	—	—	380,325
To the year's service 1711	—	—	500,000
Add, 101 odd shillings and pence	—	—	3

L. 9,471,324

^b If we had taken places from the Spaniards in America, it would have given an opportunity to such of the grantees as had embraced the party of Charles III. to have quitted it, and reconciled themselves to king Philip. It would have given umbrage to, and furnished a precedent for the Dutch. It was thought this point was well settled and secured by our private treaty. Besides these, which were not slight motives, there were others which are elsewhere mentioned, that hindered the former ministry, or rather rendered it impracticable for them to take any steps of this nature.

chants

chants of Bristol taking this matter into consideration, began to apprehend, that, however the ministry might be bound, private persons were not obliged to let slip advantages of this nature; and therefore they resolved to fit out two ships for the South Seas, upon their private account; which they did; and these ships returning in the year 1711, after having made many rich prizes, the wealth of the South Seas came to make a great noise¹.

This determined the new ministry to join an ample security for the debts hitherto unprovided for, with the prospect of the trade from the South Seas, and by this means, fix their whole design at once. Upon this plan, they made some proposals to the monied people, who, having been long attached to the former administration, treated the whole as chimerical, and a project that could never be brought to bear. I mention this circumstance, only to shew how little dependence should be placed on the resolution of men who, are known to be governed by nothing but their interests; for, notwithstanding their slighting the proposal when it was first made, Lord Oxford and his friends carried on this scheme with success². In

¹ As the business of this voyage to the South Seas very nearly concerns the subject of this work, it may not be amiss to take notice, as concisely as possible, of the most remarkable circumstances attending this affair. The ships fitted out upon this occasion, were the *Duke* of thirty guns, and 170 men, commanded by captain Woods Rogers; and the *Duchess*, of twenty-six guns, and 150 men, under the command of Stephen Courtney. The famous captain Dampier, whose voyages have made him known throughout Europe, was on board one of these vessels, as pilot; they sailed from Bristol on the 1st of August, 1708, and having happily passed the Straights of Magellan, they not only took several ships in the South Seas, but several towns also upon the coast; and on the 22d of December, 1709, they met with the *Acapulco* ship, that is, the lesser of the two ships which sail annually from the East Indies to Mexico; she was of the burden of 410 tons, and carried twenty guns, and as many paddararoes. The action lasted about half an hour, and the value of the prize was about 2,000,000 pieces of eight; the larger *Acapulco* ship fell also in their way, which they attacked two days successively; but, as she was of 900 tons burden, and had 600 men on board, they found it impossible to take her, which made them determine to return by the East Indies; captain Dover being appointed commander of the *Acapulco* ship, with which they arrived safely in the Downs, on the 2d of October, 1711.

² This settling the unliquidated debts, giving satisfaction thereby to the public creditors, and framing the plan of the South-Sea company, are all enumerated

In the first place, they took care to give a very plausible account to the world, of the nature of this undertaking; and, which shewed their political dexterity, they made the very contempt, which was at first expressed for their design, subservient to its extension; for they gave out, that the last ministry having been careless of the nation's interest in this respect, were desirous of covering their reputation, by representing that as impracticable, which they had never attempted¹. They took notice likewise of its having been always thought the surest way of distressing the Spaniards; and, to demonstrate this, they printed a proposal of the like nature, which was made in parliament, so long ago as in the year 1624. They further observed, that this was prosecuting the war against the French too, who carried on a mighty trade in the South Seas, and were actually making settlements there. This took off the edge from every argument that could be offered, as to the impossibility of the design; for all who talked in that style, were considered now as enemies to the English nation, and persons absolutely in a foreign interest^m.

To give the thing the highest gloss, and to fix the nation in a full opinion of the great profit that might be made by this trade, care was taken to circulate a notion in Holland, about the time that Sir Hovenden Walker undertook his expedition against Canada, that the true intention of that armament was

rated in the preamble of the patent, creating him earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer.

¹ There appeared several treatises about this time, on the subject, the titles of some of which are worth preserving, (1.) A letter to a member of parliament, on the settling a trade to the South Sea of America, with reasons for encouraging a commerce between Great Britain and the countries situated in those seas. London, 1711, 4to. (2.) A true account of the design and advantages of a South Sea trade, with answers to all the objections made against it. London, 1711, 8vo. (3.) An essay on the nature and methods of carrying on a trade to the South Seas. By Robert Allan, who resided some years in the kingdom of Peru. London, 1712, 8vo.

^m There never was a period when party spirit ran higher, and consequently when truth was more disguised, or falsehood better dressed, than in this. There was less regard paid to the weight of propositions than to the persons who proposed them, and therefore the only way of coming at truth, is to consider these propositions, without respecting who supported, or who censured.

against

against Peru. This had the designed effect; the Dutch took umbrage at it, and expressed loudly enough their dissatisfaction at our entering on any such views. This answered the end proposed, and begot an extraordinary concurrence in the new scheme here. The debts unprovided for, were next liquidated at 9,471,324 l. on which an annuity at the rate of 6 l. *per cent.* was granted, until the principal was paid, which annuity amounted to 568,279 l. *

The company was incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South Seas; and, by their charter, there was invested in them and their successors, the sole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of America, from the river Oroonoko, to the southermost part of Terra del Fuego, and on the west side thereof, from the said southermost part of Terra del Fuego, through the South Sea, to the northermost part of America, and into, and from all the countries, islands, and places within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which shall hereafter be found out, or discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the said west side thereof, except the kingdom of Brazil, and such other places on the east side of America, as are now in the possession of the king of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the possession of the States-General. And to give the thing still the greater sanction, the said company, and none else, were to trade within the said limits; and if any other person should presume to trade to the South Seas, they were to forfeit the ship and goods, and double the value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the prosecutor; and the remaining half to the use of the company. And it is also provided, that the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover, and erect within the said limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual-rent of one ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prize, by the ships of the said

* Anna's of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 228, 333. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 569. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 439.

company, and the company may seize, by force of arms, all other British ships trading in those seas^o.

The stock of this corporation was to arise from the subscription of these public debts, and the sum of 8,279*l.* was granted for the charges of management; and as trade could not be carried on without money, so the governor and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten *per cent.* for the prosecution of this trade ^P.

The lord high-treasurer Oxford, than whom no minister had cleaner hands, or a sounder head, saw, with great satisfaction, the South-Sea company's stock subscribed, by the very people who, upon its first proposal, had treated his project as a chimera. He knew, much better than they, how far it was chimerical; he knew, that no advantageous trade could be carried on according to the scheme of the charter; but when the charter was granted, it was too early for him to discover what he really meant by trade to the South Seas. In the year 1713, the *ASSIENTO* treaty, or agreement between king Philip of Spain, and the Guinea company in France, for the furnishing negroes to the West Indies, determined; and the lord-treasurer had an agent of his in Spain, who took notice of it to the duke d'Offuna, hinting also, that the granting this to the English might prove a means towards bringing about a peace; inasmuch, as this had been one of the principal points proposed by the private treaty between Great Britain and king Charles. The proposal was eagerly embraced, because it not only had a ten-

^o This was, indeed, liable to the objection made by some of the writers before-mentioned, that the trade was chimerical, as in truth the company never attempted to send a ship into the South Sea. But the minister had very just reasons to proceed as he did. First, he was obliged to settle the company without loss of time, and, while the war continued, expeditions might have been made into the South Seas. Secondly, the forming this company, and the tenor of its charter, alarmed the Spaniards, and disposed them to make any concessions, in order to procure a peace with Britain. Thirdly, the *Assiento* was obtained for this company, in lieu of this trade granted them to the South Sea.

^P Statute 9. Annæ, cap. 21. Charter of the South-Sea company. See also the several treaties which have been before referred to; relative to this subject.

dency to answer the great end of settling king Philip's title; but it also gave a handle to the Spaniards to rid themselves of the French, whose dealings in the South Seas had long given them, as it ought to have given us, great umbrage^d.

Thus this wise and able minister brought about in Spain, what few had any thoughts of in England; and procured this to be offered by king Philip; as a means of conciliating the interests of the two crowns, and renewing the old correspondence between the two nations. In consequence of this, a project, consisting of forty-two articles, was delivered to his Catholic majesty, who, on the 26th of March, 1713, ratified them by his royal decree at Madrid; and these are the articles so solemnly confirmed in the treaty of peace before-mentioned, and which have been the basis of the trade carried on by the South-Sea company; and which, if it has not, might certainly have been made extremely beneficial to this nation^e.

This *Assiento* contract stipulates, in the first place, that from the first of May 1713, to the first of May 1743, the company shall transport into the Spanish West Indies 144,000 negroes of both sexes; and of all ages, at the rate of 4800 negroes every year; that for each negroe the Assentists shall pay 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ pieces of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the said Assentists shall advance his Catholic majesty 200,000 pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a-year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of 4000 negroes, his Catholic majesty giving them the duty on the other 800, to balance their risk, and extraordinary expences; that his Catholic majesty, and the queen of Great Britain shall each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and shall be al-

^d This leads me to take notice of an immediate and capital advantage which resulted to Britain from this transaction. It wrought upon the natural jealousy of the Spaniards, who never rested till they rid themselves of the French traders, who were become perfectly well acquainted with the route by Cape Horn, and had even passed this way to the East Indies, and so round by the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, as appears by Frezier's and Barbinai's voyages; and, but for this treaty, no question would, in the space of a few years, have worked themselves into a regular correspondence this way into both Indies.

^e *Actes & memoires de la paix d'Utrecht*, tome v. p. 72. *Corps diplomatique*, tome viii. p. 1. p. 330. *Lamberti*, tome viii. p. 360.

lowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the Assentists, upon oath, that during the space, neither the French Guinea company, or the subjects of any other crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and in case they should import them, they shall be considered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them, with many other clauses for the security of this trade, which are not necessary for me here to mention. I shall content myself with observing, that the rights and privileges granted by this contract were all by direction from the queen, properly assigned to the South-Sea company; and though it might be, as I believe it was, true, that a little jobbing was practised in making the assignments, yet the whole was most advantageous to this nation; and if we have not reaped such benefits from this contract as we might have done, we ought not to blame the treaty of Utrecht, but ourselves; for there is no serving any nation after it is come to a certain height of corruption.

It has been suggested, that, whatever benefits we might receive by this treaty, there were still much greater advantages that might have been acquired, if we had not suffered them to slip through our fingers. I shall take some notice of these. In the first place, it has been said, that we might have made ourselves masters of the Indies, or at least of the trade of them. I do not see how this can be proved. For, on the one hand, our open enemies were extremely strong there, so as not only to act upon the defensive, but even to attack, and that successfully too, the settlements of our allies, the Portuguese; and, on the other hand, not the Dutch only, but all the confederates were extremely averse to our making conquests in the West Indies; which were amongst the true and weighty reasons why, under the earl of Godolphin's administration, they were forborne*.

* We have more than once touched the reasons why, under that minister, we did not carry on a sea war against Spain, in the Indies, and we also acquainted the reader with the articles of the secret treaty; to which we will now add, that our navy was so fully employed, that, perhaps, less cogent reasons might have induced our statesmen not to attempt any thing at such a distance, rather than risk the attempting what would have exasperated friends as well as foes, with small hopes of success.

In time of war, therefore, it does not appear we were able to do much against the Spaniards, and against the French we were still in a worse condition; for in the islands they were too strong for us, from their having but few colonies, and those well peopled; and in Canada they found the situation of the country and its climate, sufficiently defended them against all we could do. It was only in Newfoundland that we had any prospect of making conquests; and there they gave us up Placentia, the only place they held^t.

I have already mentioned the affair of Cape Breton, which some writers have called a mine of gold, given up by the treaty of Utrecht to the French; and the reason assigned for it is this: that if that island had not been left to the French, we should have possessed the fishery in that part of the world without a rival; and might consequently have made what market of it we pleased. Yet, however acceptable this reason may be at home, I am sure nothing raises us so many enemies abroad; this notion of monopolizing trade, and shutting our neighbours out of it by force, has a very bad effect, and is the engine constantly made use of by the French, to prejudice our once good allies the Dutch against us. I crave leave to add, that experience hath shewn the fact to be otherwise than it was then represented; we were, till the last war with Spain, in possession of a very great trade in Newfoundland; and, whenever a definitive peace is made, on the conclusion of the present, care will no doubt be taken, that it shall be secured to us in its full extent, as a compensation for our expence, and then I conceive we shall have no great cause to murmur^u.

We find it also objected, that greater security was not obtained for us in the Mediterranean; where, they say, we should

^t This was a considerable place, and in part the object of Sir Rowland Walker's expedition, and the French chose to give it up to facilitate a peace rather than have it taken from them, as it certainly would have been, had the war continued. It was equally a misfortune to the French, and to us, that the loss of Cape Breton was not also given up, which has been a bone of contention ever since.

^u This entire cession of the fishery ought to be considered as the sole means of preserving peace, and the consequences attending this treaty before us, shew that all other expedients are ineffectual, which, old experience shewed it, could not be known.

not only have had Gibraltar, but a territory round it. It were to be wished they had given us a plan of this fortress, with the territory they expected, and then at the close of the ensuing war, perhaps it might have been obtained. But it is our misfortune, that even in points of such importance as these, we borrow our opinions rather from the parties to which we attach ourselves, than from the nature of things themselves. For let it be remembered, that many of those who insisted with the utmost vehemence on this error, in the treaty of Utrecht, afterwards, when their schemes of politics were changed, were as warm in asserting, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon too were of little or no use, and were actually inclined to give them up to Spain, not in consideration of any equivalent to be given to Great Britain, but in order to have such a peace made, as would suit the interest of our foreign allies. It is not, therefore, easy to discern, through the mists of parties, what in this respect are the true interests of Britain^w.

All that can be fairly said of this matter, lies in a narrow compass; the security of our trade in the Mediterranean is well provided for, by our having in our possession the very best haven in the Mediterranean, I mean that of Port Mahon, the influence derived from which, when properly attended to, must always make us masters of those seas, and put it in our power to give law to the French. If an English civil government were once established in the island of Minorca, and a large well-built city erected there, capable of becoming the centre of our trade in those parts, we should very soon see the worth of that island, and recover the best part of the trade we have lost. But military governments agree so little with the industry of a trading people, and are in themselves so repugnant to the genius of the British nation, that I do not at all wonder men of good sense, and those too of all parties, have secretly an inclination, that both Gibraltar and Minorca should be given up for the same reason that the patriots in king Charles II^d.’s reign, forced him

^w The figure we make, as a maritime power, in Europe, requires we should have proper stations in the Mediterranean; it will be the peculiar and perpetual glory of this reign, that in it they were gained: experience has shewn their utility, and, against such arguments, conjectures and plausibilities will never prevail.

to part with Tangier. But, be this as it will, we certainly have no right to cry down the treaty of Utrecht, for furnishing us with advantages, which our own corruption will not allow us to keep.

To conclude this part of my subject, I must observe, that, upon the close of the war, the French found themselves totally deprived of all pretensions to the dominion of the sea. We have, in part, demonstrated this in the last volume; but something more remains to be said here. Most of our conquests, indeed all of them that were of any use to us, were made by, or at least chiefly by our fleets. Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and Sir John Leake reduced Minorca; and it is also evident, that it was our fleet alone that supported king Charles in Catalonia, and kept the king of Portugal steady to the grand alliance; which, besides the advantages it brought to the common cause, secured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country; and all this against the spirit, genius, and inclination of the king of Portugal, and his ministers, who were all at that time in the French interest in their hearts; from which they had never departed so much as in shew, if the most Christian king had been able to perform what we did; since it is well known, that the Portugueze first offered themselves to, and contracted an alliance with that monarch, and his grandson of Spain *.

At the same time, our fleets prevented the French from so much as sailing on the Mediterranean, where they had made a figure in the last war, and kept many of the Italian states in awe. The very Algerines, and other piratical states of Barbary, contrary to their natural propensity to the French, were now obsequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the superiority of our flag. To speak the truth, the slackness of the Dutch, in sending ships to this part of the world, had in this respect an effect happy enough for us, since it occasioned our being considered as the leading power, by all who had any concerns with us and them. Yet it must be admitted, that

* In every war this has been sufficiently seen. Our fleet is naturally the offensive strength of this nation, by which the power of Britain is feared, being at some time or other felt under every clime.

in the course of this war, the French performed some extraordinary exploits in the attacking the fleets and colonies of us, and our allies, at which we need not wonder, since now this was all they had in their power; and though it disturbed us a good deal, and brought them some profit, yet it was more a mark of their weakness than of ours; for what greater, what more glorious argument of our naval force, than our sinking a great maritime power into a petty piratical state?

Let us but consider the figure that France made at the beginning of the last war, and at the end of this. She had then her fleets as well as we; nay, she had sometimes better fleets; instead of waiting till she was attacked, or giving us the trouble to go and seek her squadrons at a distance, she spread the sea with her navy, and insulted us upon our own coasts; though we had Spain for us in all that war, yet it was thought extremely dangerous for us to winter in its ports; and every body knows, every body may see from this, and other histories, that while we protected Spain by our fleets, we were often in danger, for want of them, of being invaded by France at home. But, in this war, the enemy seldom appeared at sea, and always quitted it at our approach. Our naval empire commenced from the battle of Malaga; the extinction of the French force at sea, was in a manner completed by our enterprize on Toulon. They were, from that time, incapable of any great expedition, and the only attempt of that kind they made, I mean the pitiful one on Scotland, very fully shewed it. They stole from our fleet through the advantage of winds and tides; the apprehension of being overtaken, hindered them from landing, and their return was a plain flight.

In a word, to sum up all, we had to deal, in the first war, with the fleets of Brest and Toulon, capable of disputing with

7 It is really wonderful that this fact has not been more considered. When marshal Tourville lay in wait for the Smyrna fleet, what was it less than converting the naval power of France into privateers. *Commercis hostibus interclisa*. Commerce rendered impracticable to enemies, is the legend of the medal struck upon that event. After the battle of Malaga, the men of war were let, or lent, to the merchants, to be fitted out as corsairs. John du Bart, Mr. du Guai Trouin, and Fourbin, were the heroes who kept up the French fame at sea, and were employed in picking up trading vessels, while our squadrons were subduing kingdoms.

as the dominion of the sea in our full strength; in this, if we could guard against the Piccaroons of St. Maloes, and Dunkirk, all was well; our merchant-men suffered sometimes; but our fleets and squadrons were always safe; nay, even in the trivial war between single ships, we had the advantage, upon the whole, as appears by the admiralty's computation; which shews, not only the French suffered more than we, but, what I believe few people have observed, that they suffered a third more in this war, than they did in the last, notwithstanding the many sea-fights in that, and there being but a single one in this^a.

^a The truth of what is asserted in this paragraph, will appear at first sight, by comparing the two following lists, which shew the loss sustained by England and France, in this war, with those in vol. iii. p. 224, 225. where we have shewn what was lost on both sides in the last war, and from whence it is manifest, that the French lost 754 guns, and consequently 11,310 tons of shipping more in this war than in that.

A LIST of English ships lost, or taken, in
queen ANNE's war.

Guns.	Number.	Guns.
80	2	160
70	4	280
60	2	120
50	8	400
48	1	48
40	2	80
36	1	36
32	4	128
30	1	30
28	1	28
24	11	264
22	1	22
Total,		1596

French ships lost or taken.		
Guns.	Number.	Guns.
100	4	400
90	8	720
86	8	688
74	1	74
70	3	210
64	1	64
56	1	56
54	4	216
50	2	100
48	1	48
40	1	40
36	2	72
34	1	34
32	1	32
30	2	60
28	1	28
24	8	192
20	3	60

Total,	52	3094
	38	1596

The loss of the French exceeds ours,	18	1498
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There

There happened no further naval armaments within the compass of this reign, except the sending a squadron into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir James Wisheart; the design of it, without question, was to execute what remained to be executed of the peace; and as his Catholic majesty was, at that time, intent on the reduction of Catalonia, the English fleet rendered him some services; which, however, made a great noise at home; for, as the Catalans had been originally brought into the war by the persuasion of the queen's minister, and upon repeated promises of her majesty's constant support of them, it was thought not a little extraordinary, that the English fleet should afford any countenance, much less assistance, to the enemies of that brave people, who still considered themselves as the allies of Great Britain*.

It is true, that many plausible things were offered in excuse of this conduct. It is said, that her majesty had done all that lay in her power, to procure for those people the continuance of their ancient privileges; and that though she had not absolutely succeeded in this, yet she had procured them an equivalent for their ancient privileges; which was sharing those of Castile, and particularly that of being capable of having a concern in the trade to the West Indies, from which all other subjects of the crown of Spain are excluded. To this it was added, that it was in a great measure owing to the faults of the Catalans themselves, that her majesty's interposition did not succeed to the full; since, while she was applying in their favour to king Philip, they actually declared war against him; which put it out of her majesty's power to solicit for them any longer. It was likewise alledged, that the emperor might have stipulated conditions for them, under the guaranty of her majesty, in his provisional treaty for the evacuation of that province; so that, upon the whole, it ought to be understood, that whatever mercy these people received, flowed from the care taken of them by the queen; whereas, the many and great miseries they suf-

* The queen had excited these people to take up arms, by her minister, Miford Crow, Esq; who had letters of credence. The earl of Peterborough had treated with them by her orders. Instructions were conceived in strong terms in their favour, when lord Lexington was sent to Spain, nor was it ever the queen's intention they should be given up.

ered, were absolutely the effects of their own perverseness and obstinacy.

But, that I may not appear an apologist, rather than an historian, I must speak my sentiments sincerely of this matter. The obligation that Great Britain was under; to protect these people; was very clear; and withal so strong, and so binding on the government; that it is impossible to conceive; how any ministers; and especially those who counter-signed the very instructions for giving such assurances to the Catalans; could believe it right; or could even imagine it excusable, not to secure them their privileges by the peace. As to their having this in their power; it appears to me a thing past all doubt; for; when they first thought of the peace, they knew the engagements they were under to these people, and they ought to have taken care, that what had been promised them upon the public faith, should have been performed. Besides, it appears plainly by the treaty of peace with Spain, that our ministry had power enough to obtain the whole kingdom of Sicily for the duke of Savoy; and one cannot easily conceive; that people, who were able to do so much to oblige one ally, should not be able to obtain justice for another.

The truth seems to have been, that the Spanish court were very desirous of carrying this point; and found a way to gain our minister, who was sent thither before the formal conclusion of the treaty, to relax a little in this particular; which; perhaps; he did not consider in the light that I do; and afterwards; it was impossible to recover, what had been departed from. I am very far; however, from thinking; that all the ministers then about the queen were culpable in this matter. I

^b They were obstinate in their aversion to king Philip, even when they found themselves left by the allies; they first desired to be annexed to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, then to become a free republic, and, by the imperial minister at Constantinople, they demanded the protection of the Ottoman Porte.

^c However their behaviour, as stated in their former note, might excuse his Catholic majesty, it did by no means justify the queen's ministers, who should have insisted upon king Philip's offering them their privileges, as well as a general amnesty; after which, if they had continued in arms, the queen's honour had been saved.

have reason to doubt, whether the lord-treasurer Oxford came into that measure; and I have authority to say, that the late duke of Buckinghamshire was so far from concurring in it, that he brought this matter twice upon the carpet in council, and exerted all his interest to have prevented the Catalans from being given up as they were. I am likewise assured, that whatever Sir James Wisheart did, was from his own construction of his instructions, and not from any express directions contained in them. This, so far as I have been able to learn, is the truth, and the whole truth without disguise or extenuation; and, if there was any minister, whose interest with the queen contributed in any degree to these poor people's misfortune, I freely own, that I think he departed in this respect from the duty he owed to his mistress and to his country.

I am now to proceed from the general history of the naval operations in this reign, to the particular memoirs of such eminent seamen as flourished in it; and as I have taken particular pains to be well informed as to their conduct and behaviour, so I shall deliver what has come to my hands, with the utmost impartiality; at the same time, I must express my deep regret, that many circumstances relating to the worthy men of whom I am now to speak, are attended with more obscurity than I could wish, notwithstanding the recentness of the facts, and the obligation that public and private historians were under, to have preserved, as far as lay in their power, whatever might have contributed to the honour of those brave officers, who so gallantly exposed themselves for the advantage of their country, and to whose courage and conduct we stand indebted for the many advantages this nation still enjoys, as well as for the force and reputation of our maritime power, which has extended itself to the most distant parts of the world, and, under this reign particularly, drew the highest respect to the English flag wherever it appeared. As it secured to us such a mighty accession of trade, that the shipping of this kingdom was increased near a third, in the short interval between the conclusion of the peace and the death of the queen,

MEMOIRS of Vice-admiral BENBOW,

AS fame ought constantly to attend on virtue, so, without doubt, it ought to follow, in a particular manner, that kind of virtue which is of greatest use to society; I mean, sincere, active, and well-conducted public spirit. This it was, that distinguished the gentleman of whom I am now to speak, and that in an age when public spirit was not only out of fashion, but out of countenance; when a man who professed to love his country, if known to have sense, was thought to be a hypocrite; and, if not known to have it, a fool. Mr. Benbow was neither; he had a probity that was never questioned, and a knowledge of men and things, which always procured him credit, in whatever station he appeared^d.

But there was this peculiar in his character, that never any addition of fortune or honour accrued to himself, but some good resulted from it to his country; for that reason I have, with great care, collected every circumstance, relating to his progress through life, from private hands; which I flatter myself will be so much the more agreeable to the public, from the want of pains in other writers to vindicate the memory of this great man; which they have rather injured, by heaping together idle and ill-founded stories, and representing, as the rough behaviour of a tar, that steady courage, and that strict regard for discipline, which were not the foibles, as some people would insinuate, but the truly laudable qualities of this honest, gallant, and accomplished admiral^e.

^d The reader will discern, from the facts delivered in these memoirs, that from the first beginning, the progress, and indeed every single accession of character, as well as every step of preferment after that character brought him into the service, were the sole effects of his merit; unassisted by solicitation, unsupported by connection.

^e Amongst other worthy gentlemen to whom I stand indebted, for many particulars recorded in these memoirs, I am especially bound to mention the late worthy Paul Calton, Esq; of an ancient and honourable family in Berkshire, who married one of the daughters and co-heiresses of vice-admiral Benbow, and into whose hands many of his father-in-law's papers came after his decease.

It would have been, I think, no reflection upon the merit of this worthy man, if he had really sprung, as some authors suggest he did, from a very mean original; but the fact is absolutely otherwise. He was descended from the antient and honourable family of the Benbows in the county of Salop; which, though now sunk in point of riches and credit, is still remembered with honour, as it deserves to be, since the misfortune of the family were not the effects of their follies and vices; but owing to their firmness and fortitude, their attachment to honour in preference to interest, and their unshaken adherence to the good old English principles of loyalty and patriotism^f.

When the civil war broke out, king Charles I. relying strongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this county, repaired in person to Shrewsbury, entered that city on the 20th of September, 1642, and the same day made a solemn and public declaration, that he did not carry on this war from a thirst of blood, of conquest, or of absolute power, but from a desire of preserving his own just rights, and those of his people, since he was determined, if God gave him success therein, to be as tender of the privileges of parliament, as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration, the lords Newport and Littleton, with the greatest part of the gentry in that county, came in, and offered his majesty their service; among these, were Thomas Benbow, and John Benbow, Esqrs. both men of estates, and both colonels in the king's service, of whose fortunes I am obliged to say somewhat, since the latter was the father of our admiral, and there are many things worthy of being recorded, that befel them both^g.

When his majesty's affairs were thrown into absolute confusion, and he had been traiterously murdered, such gentlemen as

^f Camden's remains, p. lii. Verstegan's restitution of decayed intelligence, chap. ix. Charter's analysis of honour, p. 73. We may, from the accounts given by these learned authors, collect from both surname and arms, that Benbow is a Saxon family, as Bowes, called in Latin, *de arcubus*, certainly appears to be, and as Strongbow and Bowman are esteemed.

^g The earl of Clarendon gives a large account of this affair, in his history, and takes particular notice of the king's coining his plate there, which inclined many noblemen and gentlemen to bring in theirs, as also considerable sums of money. See the folio edition of his history, p. 248: but, as for the king's speech, it may be found at large in Heath's chronicle, p. 38, 39.

had served in his army, retired into the country, and lived as privately as they could. But, though their interests were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great measure ruined, yet their spirit remained unbroken, and they acted as chearfully for the service of king Charles II. as if they had never suffered at all by serving his father; so much a better principle is loyalty than corruption. When therefore that prince marched from Scotland, towards Worcester, the two Benbows, amongst other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him; and after fighting bravely in the support of their sovereign, were both taken prisoners by the rebels^b.

That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and soon after a court-martial was appointed to sit at Chester, wherein colonel Macworth had the chair as president, and major-general Mitton, and other staunch friends to the cause, assisted; by whom ten gentlemen, of the first families in England, were illegally and barbarously sentenced to death, for barely corresponding with his majesty, and five of them were executed. They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Fetherstonhough, colonel Thomas Benbow, and the earl of Derby, for being in his service. They were all condemned, and, in order to strike the greater terror in different parts of the county, the earl of Derby was adjudged to suffer death on the 15th of October, at Bolton; Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th, at Chester; and colonel Thomas Benbow to be shot on the 19th, at Shrewsbury; all these sentences were severally put in execution^c; which, I think, sufficiently shews, that the Benbows were then, or had been lately, a very considerable family in Shropshire; for otherwise the colonel would hardly have been sent out of the world in so good company^d.

^b Whitlocke's memorials, p. 511. Heath's chronicle of the civil wars, p. 302. A new history of loyal martyrs, p. 159.

^c Lloyd's memorials of loyal sufferers, p. 558, where, from his own, or the printer's inaccuracy, it is Benlow instead of Beubow. Sir George Wharton, in his *Gesta Britanuorum*, says, he suffered at Shrewsbury, October 15, 1651, the same day the earl of Derby was beheaded at Bolton. Whitlocke, in his memorials, p. 511, states it so likewise.

^d This is not mentioned in Clarendon's history, but is particularly taken notice of by Sir Phillip Warwick, Dr. Bates, and other writers of those times, and in Heath's chronicle, p. 302.

As for colonel John Benbow, he made his escape, after a short imprisonment, and lived privately in his own country, till after the restoration, when he was far in years, and yet so much to seek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a small office belonging to the ordnance in the Tower, which just brought him an income sufficient to subsist himself and his family without danger of starving. In this situation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the first Dutch war, the king came to the Tower to examine the magazines. There his majesty cast his eye on the good old colonel, who had now been distinguished by a fine head of grey hairs for twenty years. The king, whose memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at first sight, and immediately came up and embraced him. "My old friend, colonel Benbow," said he, "what do you here?" I have, returned the colonel, a place of fourscore pounds a-year, in which I serve your majesty as cheerfully, as if it brought me in four thousand. "Alas!" said the king, "is that all that could be found for an old friend at Worcester? Colonel Legge, bring this gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will provide for him and his family as it becomes me." But, short as the time was, the colonel did not live to receive, or so much as to claim, the effects of this gracious promise; for the sense of the king's gratitude and goodness so overcame his spirits, that, sitting down on a bench, he there breathed his last, before the king was well out of the Tower. And thus, both brothers fell martyrs to the royal cause, one in grief, and the other in joy¹.

When we consider the many misfortunes, and distressed circumstances of the father, it is impossible not to be surprized at the poverty, or not feel compassion for the condition of his family, of the state of which, at the time of his decease, I am not able to give any distinct account; all that I have been able to learn, is, that this son John, who was then about fifteen, was bred to the sea; but that it was in so low a station as a waterman's boy, which some writers positively affirm, I can hardly believe, because, even in king Charles II.'s reign, he was own-

¹ This particular I had from Mr. Clifton, and it has been likewise confirmed to me by several other persons of credit.

er and commander of a ship called the Benbow frigate, and made then as respectable a figure as any man concerned in the trade to the Mediterranean. He was always considered by the merchants, as a bold, brave, and active commander, one who took care of his seamen, and was therefore cheerfully obeyed by them, though he maintained strict discipline, with greater safety there, than afterwards in the royal navy. This behaviour raised his reputation greatly, so that no man was better known, or more esteemed by the merchants upon the Exchange, than captain Benbow. It does not, however, appear, that he ever sought any preferment in that whole reign; neither is it likely he would have met with it in the next, but from a remarkable accident, of which I shall give the reader the best account I can, because it gave rise to all his future fortunes, and is without an extraordinary a story in itself, as perhaps ever appeared^m.

In the year 1686, captain Benbow, in his own vessel the Benbow frigate, was attacked in his passage to Cadiz by a Sally rover, against whom he defended himself, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmost bravery, till at last the Moors boarded him; but were quickly beat out of his ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork-pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz, he went ashore, and ordered a negro servant to follow him, with the Moors heads in a sack. He had scarce landed, before the officers of the revenue inquired of his servant what he had in his sack? The captain answered, salt provisions for his own use. That may be, answered the officers; but we must insist upon seeing them. Captain Benbow alledged, that he was no stranger there; that he did not use to run goods, and pretended to take it very ill that he was suspected. The officers told him, that the magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the provision where he pleased; but that otherwise it was not in their power to grant any such dispensation.

^m See the complete history of Europe, for 1702, p. 496, 497. O'Donixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. iii, p. 307. Collier's columna celsitudo, p. 250.

The captain consented to the proposal; and away they marched to the custom-house; Mr. Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The magistrates, when he came before them, treated captain Benbow with great civility; told him, they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but that, since he had refused to shew the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a sight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the shewing them could be of no great consequence one way or other. "I told you," says the captain sternly, "they were salt provisions for my own use. Cæsar, throw them down upon the table; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service." The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the Moors heads, and no less astonished at the account of the captain's adventure, who, with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of barbarians. They sent an account of the whole matter to the court of Madrid, and Charles II. then king of Spain, was so much pleased with it, that he would needs see the English captain, who made a journey to court, where he was received with great testimonies of respect, and not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his Catholic majesty was also pleased to write a letter in his behalf to king James, who, upon the captain's return, gave him a ship, which was his introduction to the royal navy^a.

After the revolution, he distinguished himself by several successful cruizes in the channel, where he was employed at the request of the merchants, and not only did his duty by protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy, but was also remarkably careful in examining the French ports, gaining intelligence, and forming schemes for disturbing the French commerce; and securing our own. For this reason he was commonly made choice of to command the squadrons employed in bombarding the French ports, of which we have given a large account in our second volume^b; and therefore it is altogether unnecessary to repeat those things here. I shall content myself, for this reason,

^a This I had from the before-mentioned Mr. Calton.

^b See volume ii. of this work, particularly p. 405, 420. Burchet's naval memoir, p. 231. Larrey Histoire d'Angleterre, tome iv. p. 740.

with remarking, that he shewed no less courage than conduct upon such occasions, being always present in his boat, as well to encourage as to instruct the seamen and engineers, according to his manner of ever enforcing his commands by his example^p.

The diligence and activity of captain Benbow, could not fail of recommending him to the favour of so wise and brave a prince as king William; to whose personal kindness, founded on a just sense of Mr. Benbow's merit, he owed his being so early promoted to a flag; after which he was generally employed as the most experienced seaman in the navy, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk, and to prevent, as far as it was possible, the depredations of du Bart; in which he shewed such diligence, and did such signal service, by preserving our merchant ships, that he escaped the slightest censure, when libels flew about against almost every other officer of rank in the whole fleet. The truth really was, that the seamen generally considered rear-admiral Benbow as their greatest patron; one, who not only used them well while under his care, but was always ready to interpose in their favour, as far as his interest went, when they were ill-treated by others^q.

There was, at that time, a warm dispute as to the expediency of preferring mere seamen, or, as they were then called, tarpaulins, or gentlemen, in the navy: admiral Benbow was consulted more than once by the king upon that subject, and always gave it as his opinion, that it was best to employ both; that a seaman should never lose preferment for want of recommendation, or a gentleman obtain it, barely from that motive. He was also a great enemy to party-distinctions, and thought a man's merit ought to be judged of from his actions at sea, rather than from the company he kept on shore; and for this reason he lived upon good terms with the admirals of different

^p Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

^q There were many severe pamphlets written in this reign against the managers of the fleet; but in all these we find him treated as an officer of the old stamp, one who had deserved the post to which he was raised, a steady servant to the crown, and the seaman's friend.

parties, who were all of them ready to testify, upon any occasion, his courage and conduct.

In the year 1697, he was sent with a small squadron before Dunkirk; where he saved the Virginia and West India fleet from falling into the hands of the French privateers, for which he received the thanks of the merchants. He would likewise have succeeded in restraining du Bart from going out, if the Dutch rear-admiral Vandergoes had been in a condition to assist him, or if the lords of the admiralty had been inclined to have taken his advice; for observing, in the beginning of August, that the French frigates were hauled into the basin, to clean, he judged their design to be what it really proved, to put to sea by the next spring-tide; and, therefore, as his ships were all foul, he wrote up to the board, to desire that four of the best failers might be ordered to Sheerness to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but also to heel and scrub; which he judged might have been done, before the spring-tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the Bar; but this was not then thought advisable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them of getting out with five clean ships; yet this, however, did not hinder the admiral from pursuing them as well as he was able; and some ships of his squadron had the good luck to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns, and forty men, which had done a great deal of mischief. This was one of the last actions of the war, and the rear-admiral soon after received orders to return home with the squadron under his command.

It is very well known, that after the peace of Ryswick, and even while the partition treaties were negotiating, king William had formed a design of doing something very considerable in

* I have these facts, not only from private authority, but also from a multitude of political treatises published under that reign; in which, as great freedom was used, so there is not the least reason to believe, that if our admiral had been guilty of any excesses in point of power, or any omissions in respect of duty, they would have been concealed.

• Burchet, Burnet, and our own history under the naval transactions of the year 1697, vol. ii. p. 479.

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the West Indies. This project had long occupied the king's thoughts, into which, it is said, it was first put by father Hennepin, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the world. The king had turned it several times in his mind; and, at last, took a settled resolution, that, if the French attempted to deceive him, as he had great reason to believe they would, something of consequence should be done in that part of the world.

In the mean time, however, he thought fit to send a small Squadron, of three fourth rates, into the West Indies, under the command of rear-admiral Benbow^c, who had private instructions from the king, to make the best observations he could on the Spanish ports and settlements, but to keep as fair as possible with the governors, and to afford them any assistance, if they desired it. He was likewise instructed to watch the galleons; for the king of Spain, Charles II. was then thought to be in a dying condition. Rear-admiral Benbow sailed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the West Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent situation. Most of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm disputes with their governors; the forces that should have been kept up in them for their defence, so reduced by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them. The admiral carried with him colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he disposed of to the best advantage in the Leeward Islands^d.

He then addressed himself to execute his commission, and sailed for that purpose to Carthagena, where he met with a very indifferent reception from the governor, which he returned, by talking to him in a style so very plain, that forced him, though he had been wanting in civility, to make it up, in some mea-

^c This was, properly speaking, a voyage chiefly of observation, that, upon his report, the king might the better take his measures upon his Catholic majesty's death, when, if a war was necessary, king William's plan was to make it as short as possible, by striking a great blow in Europe, and another in America, at once.

^d Burchet's justification of his naval memoirs, p. 152, where he shews why so little could be done, even by so good an officer.

sure, by doing justice; and in the same manner he proceeded with the governor of Porto Bello, as I have shewn elsewhere; but still the great ends of his commission remained altogether unanswered, not through any fault of the admiral's, but for want of a sufficient force, either to engage the Spaniards to confide in him, or to perform any thing considerable, in case the French had sent a strong fleet into that part of the world, as it was then expected they would have done. This affair was complained-of in parliament, where the smallness of the squadron, and the sending it so late, were very severely reflected upon^w; though, at the same time, great compliments were paid to admiral Benbow's courage, capacity, and integrity, by both parties; and when he returned home two years after, he brought with him authentic testimonies of his having done the merchants and planters all the services they could either expect or desire; so that he was received with the most cordial friendship by his majesty^x; who, as a mark of his royal favour, was graciously pleased to grant him an augmentation of arms, by adding to the three bent bows, which he and his family already bore, as many arrows.

The whole system of affairs in Europe was changed by that time admiral Benbow came back; the king had discovered the dissingenuity of the French, and saw himself under an absolute necessity of entering upon a new war, while he was sensible the nation was as yet very little recovered from the expences of the last. One of his first cares was, to put the fleet into as good condition as it was possible, and to give the command of it to

^w This most clearly decides as to his character, and ought to encourage every officer in like station to do his duty steadily and correctly, for then even the want of success may contribute to rise of reputation.

^x It is certain, that the French had great advantages from the nature of their government, which enabled them to take much quicker measures for effecting their purposes, than we could do to oppose them; but, as this was in a great degree owing to oversights and mismanagements in the former war, so it shews the necessity there is of strict and prudent inquiries, in order to obtain the confidence of this nation; which, whenever it is acquired, will be always found an over-balance even for the French power; whereas, if the people of England entertain any doubts of the manner in which their money is to be employed, it will often be found difficult, some time or other, perhaps impracticable, to make them part with it.

officers that might in all respects be depended upon; and to this disposition of the king's, Mr. Benbow owed his being declared vice-admiral of the blue. He was at that time cruising off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invasion. There was, as yet, no war declared between the two crowns; but this was held to be no security against France; and it was no sooner known, that they were fitting out a strong squadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed to be intended to cover a descent. Vice-admiral Benbow satisfied the ministry, that there was no danger on this side; and then it was resolved to prosecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to disappoint the French in their views upon the Spanish succession; to facilitate which, it was thought absolutely necessary to send, without delay, a strong squadron to the West Indies.

This squadron was to consist of two third rates, and eight fourths; which was as great a strength as it was judged could be at that time spared; and it was thought indispensibly requisite that it should be under the orders of an officer, whose courage and conduct might be safely relied on, and whose experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this important command; upon the right management of which, it was believed, the success of the war would in a great measure depend. Mr. Benbow was thought of by the ministry, as soon as the expedition was resolved; but the king would not hear of it. He said, that Benbow was in a manner just come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties; and that, therefore, it was but fair some other officer should take his turn¹. One or two were named, and consulted; but either their health, or their affairs were in such disorder, that they most earnestly desired to be excused; upon which the king said merrily to some of his ministers, alluding to the dress and appearance of these gentlemen, "Well

¹ This was the American branch of the grand scheme before hinted, and was to seize the galleons; at the same time, the fleet which was to sail into the Mediterranean took Cadiz, and gave us a secure entrance into Andalusia; than which, a more simple, more noble, or more practicable design, the human mind could not conceive.

" then,

" then, I find we must spare our beaus, and send honest Benbow."

His majesty, accordingly, sent for him upon this occasion, and asked him, whether he was willing to go to the West Indies, assuring him, if he was not, he would not take it amiss, if he desired to be excused. Mr. Benbow answered bluntly, " That he did not understand such compliments; that he thought he had no right to chuse his station; and that, if his majesty thought fit to send him to the East or West Indies, or any where else, he would chearfully execute his orders as became him." Thus the matter was settled, in very few words, and the command of the West India squadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our vice-admiral Benbow*.

To conceal the design of this squadron, but above all to prevent the French from having any just notions of its force, Sir George Rooke, then admiral of the fleet, had orders to convey it as far as Scilly, and to send a strong squadron with it thence, to see it well into the sea; all which he punctually performed; so that admiral Benbow departed in the month of September, 1701; the world in general believing, that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the squadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this still more credible, our minister at Madrid was ordered to demand the free use of the Spanish ports; which was accordingly performed*. As soon as it was known in England, that vice-admiral Benbow was sailed, with ten ships only, for the West Indies, and it was discovered, that the great armament at Brest, with which we were long amused, was intended for the same part of the world, a mighty clamour was raised here at home, as if he had been sent to be sacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet; whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the vice-admiral had

* Most of these particulars I had from persons of reputation, upon their own knowledge.

* Burchet's naval history, p. 590. History of Europe, for 1701, p. 117. Life of king William, p. 627.

as considerable a squadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought possible to be spared^b.

It is certain, that king William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well that vice-admiral Benbow would execute, with the greatest spirit and punctuality, the instructions he had received; which were to engage the Spanish governors, if possible, to disown king Philip; or, in case that could not be brought about, to make himself master of the galleons. In this design it is very plain, that the admiral would have succeeded, notwithstanding the smallness of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no less certain, that the anxiety the vice-admiral was under, about the execution of his orders, was the principal reason for his maintaining so strict discipline, which proved unluckily the occasion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reason to censure either the king's project, or the admiral's conduct; both were right in themselves, though neither was attended with the success it deserved^c.

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^b The sending vice-admiral Benbow at that critical season, was a very judicious measure, the faults were committed afterwards. Sir John Munden was punished for the consequence, rather than the nature of his error. A strong squadron should have been then sent to the support of Benbow, which had saved him, and served the nation.

^c That I may not seem to speak altogether without book, I shall cite a passage from a pamphlet published in 1702, intitled, *The present condition of the English navy*, p. 24. "A new war I believe to be unavoidable; and we are much beholden to the last parliament, that we are not entered into it already, and so become the Fight-alls, the Pay-alls, and the Lose-alls, of Europe, as we have hitherto been. But, if we have a war managed as the last was, we had better spend a little money in booms and chains, to secure our ships in harbour, than to send them abroad to spend our money, lose our reputation, and not secure our trade. I cannot persuade myself, that the parliament of England will evermore send the native strength of their country abroad in other people's quarrels, and be at the charge of levies, clothing, arms, and transportations, to put their own liberties in danger at home, by a standing army, when they have done the business of our allies abroad. The men we lost, and the money we spent in the last war, as also, how hard it was to get them disbanded, in opposition to the interest of men that wanted to support their titles to their illegal grants, and ill gotten gains, is too fresh in our memories, ever to bring ourselves under the like hardships. I foresee that the war will be now at sea, and we have but a very ill
"omen

The French knew too well the importance of the Spanish West Indies, not to think of providing for their security, as soon as ever they resolved to accept the will of his Catholic majesty, the late king Charles II. which, it may be, was some time before his death, though, to save appearances, solemnly debated after the contents of the will were communicated by the privy-council of Spain. The officer whom his most Christian majesty made choice of to command the squadron which was first to be sent thither, was the famous M. du Caffé, governor of St. Domingo. He was to carry with him one hundred officers of all ranks, who were intended to discipline the Spanish militia in the kingdom of Mexico; but, before this could be done, it was thought necessary to send M. du Caffé to Madrid, to ask the consent of the Spanish council, which took up some time; for though the Spaniards could not but be sensible in how wretched a situation their affairs in the West Indies were, yet it was with great reluctance, that they gave way to this expedient, though a little reflection (of which no nation is more capable) would have shewn them, that in reality they had no choice to make; but, when they had once come to a resolution, that M. du Caffé should be sent, they were continually soliciting the French court to dispatch him immediately^d.

" omen of success, from the last summer's expedition of our fleet. Our modern Whigs, in their legion letters, and Kentish petitions, exclaimed against the parliament, because they raised no more money; but I hope these folk, if they have any brains, or honesty, are now sensible of their groundless complaint, when they find how little has been done for what was then raised. They gave 1,500,000 pounds for the fleet, for this expedition; and what has been the effect? the whole fleet went to convoy Benbow in his way to the West Indies, and, while they were gone, our modern Whigs, boasted of their conduct, and built castles in the air, to hold the money they should bring home in the Spanish galleons; but, in a short time, we found them all at Spithead, except a few ships that preceded with Benbow to the West Indies, where, if they be not talmash'd, they have good fortune."

^d Memoires de la Torre, tome i, ii, iii. where it manifestly appears, that the hopes of preserving their monarchy entire, having the protection of the fleets and armies of France, and being relieved from the pillages to which they had been exposed during the last reign, determined the grandees to call in the duke of Anjou.

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The French councils, which were better conducted, had, as we already suggested, foreseen all these difficulties; and, therefore, had a squadron ready at Brest, consisting of five ships of the line, and several large vessels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April, 1701, sailed for the Spanish West Indies; and on the 20th of October the count de Chateau-Renard sailed also with fourteen ships of the line, and sixteen frigates, to meet the galleons, that were supposed to be already departed from the Havannah, under the escort of the marquis de Coetlogon; and, after all this, M. du Casse likewise sailed with his squadron; from whence the English reader will easily see, that as admiral Benbow received no supplies, he was truly in danger of being crushed by the superior power of our enemies, and that extraordinary diligence which was used to strengthen and support them*.

When vice-admiral Benbow arrived first at Jamaica, which was at the close of the year 1701, he made such just and wise dispositions for securing our own trade, and annoying that of the enemy, that the French saw, with great amazement, all their schemes defeated; which they had been enabled to form, by their having much earlier intelligence than we of the intended war; and their own writers fairly admit, that even after the arrival of the marquis de Coetlogon, they were constrained to act only on the defensive; and found all the grand projects they had meditated, for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, entirely frustrated†.

The Dutch accounts, at the same time, from Curoçoa, said plainly, that, notwithstanding all the blustering of the French, vice-admiral Benbow, with a small English squadron, remained master of those seas; nor did he fail to make use of this advan-

* *Histoire militaire*, tom. v. and in general all the French historians, who are extremely careful to preserve distinct accounts, even of such schemes as have proved abortive; and in this they are certainly right, because it secures their reputation with posterity, and shews they did not fail from want of skill or attention, but from want of fortune.

† *Histoire de St. Domingue*, tome iv. p. 197. *Memoires historiques et chronologiques*.

tage, by taking many prizes, and by giving all imaginable countenance to the private trade carried on by the English on the Spanish coasts: but, in a few weeks time, the scene began to change; for the vice-admiral had first the news of M. Chateau Renaud's arrival at Martinico, with a squadron much stronger than his own; and, soon after, information that this squadron had been joined by the marquis de Coetlogon from the Havannah, which alarmed the inhabitants of Barbadoes and Jamaica excessively, because we had no force capable of resisting this French fleet, in case their commanders were determined to act offensively^a.

In this uncertain situation, things continued to the end of April, 1702, when the vice-admiral resolved, notwithstanding there was great want of men on board the squadron, to put to sea, in order to cruize between Jamaica and Hispaniola; and accordingly he sailed on the 8th of May; but, before he was quite clear of the island of Jamaica, he met with rear-admiral Whetstone, with whom he returned, to communicate to the government some orders received from England; having first sent the Falmouth, Ruby, and Experiment, to cruize off Petit Guavas. He had advice about the middle of May, that, on the 18th of the preceding month, there passed by Camanagoto, on Terra Firma, seventeen tall ships, which steered towards the west end of Cuba. These ships he judged to be part of M. Chateau-Renaud's squadron, and that they were bound to the Havannah, to offer their service for conveying home the flota; but he had not strength to follow them, without subjecting the island to the insults of those ships which were at Leon-gane. Some little time after, the master of a Spanish sloop from Cuba, acquainted him, that M. Chateau-Renaud was actually arrived at the Havannah, with twenty-six ships of war, waiting for the flota from La Vera Cruz; and this was confirmed by the ships he had sent out, which, during their cruize in those parts, had taken four prizes; one of them a ship mounted with no more than twenty-four, but capable of carrying forty guns^b.

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 592. Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 144. British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 337.

^b Histoire de St. Domingue, tome iv. liv. xi. p. 197. Memoires historique et politique, tom. xxxiii. p. 657. Memoires historiques et chronologiques.

The vice-admiral being likewise informed, by a sloop from Petit Guavas, that four ships, with provisions, were bound from thence to the Havannah, he sent three frigates to intercept them, between Cape St. Nicholas, and Cape Mayze, the very track leading thither; but they had not the expected success. The same day he detached rear-admiral Whetstone, with two third rates, three fourths, and a fire-ship, to intercept M. du Casse, who, he had heard, was expected at Port Lewis, at the west end of Hispaniola, a little within the idle of Ash, with four ships of war, to settle the Assiento at Carthagena, and to destroy the trade of the English and Dutch for negroes, resolving to sail himself, in five or six days, with the remainder of the squadron, in search of these French ships, in case the rear-admiral should miss them¹.

I have given so full and particular an account, in the former part of this volume, of what happened on the admiral's sailing to intercept du Casse, that I shall confine myself here to such circumstances as are personal only. The scheme formed by admiral Benbow, for the destruction of the French force in the West Indies, and having a chance for the galleons, shews him to have been a very able and judicious commander, and effectually disproves that idle and ridiculous calumny of his being a mere seaman. He saw, that the French officers were excessively embarrassed by the wayward conduct of the Spaniards, who would not take a single step out of their own road, though for their own service. He resolved to take advantage of this, and to attack the smallest of their squadrons, having before sent home such an account of the number and value of the Spanish ships, and of the strength of the French squadrons that were to escort them, as might enable the ministry to take all proper measures for intercepting them, either in their passage from the West Indies, or when it should be known that they were arrived in the European seas. When he had done this, he sailed from Jamaica on the 11th of July, with two third rates, six fourths, a fire-ship, bomb, tender, and sloop, in hopes of meeting rear-admiral Whetstone; but missing him, he failed not, however, first to give the utmost dis-

¹ Admiral Benbow's journal. *Annals of queen Anne*, vol. i. p. 163. *Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 303.

sturbance to the French settlements in St. Domingo, and then sailed in search of du Casse's squadron, which he came up with and engaged, on Wednesday the 19th of August, and fought him bravely for five days; which not only demonstrates the courage and conduct of this gallant seaman, but the fidelity and attachment of his own ship's company; since it is impossible he could, in such circumstances, have maintained the engagement so long, if his inferior officers, and all the common seamen, had not been very affectionate. The French accounts, indeed, represent the whole affair to their own advantage; but M. du Casse, who was a brave man, and withal by much the best judge of this matter, has put the thing out of dispute, by the following short letter, written by him immediately after his arrival at Carthagena; the original of which is still, or was very lately, in the hands of admiral Benbow's family^{*}.

" S I R,

" I had little hopes, on Monday last, but to have supped
" in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it other-
" wise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains
" who deserted you, hang them up; for, by —, they de-
" serve it.

" Yours,

" Du CASSE."

The first care the admiral had, after his return to Jamaica, was, to provide for the officers who distinguished themselves in the late engagement; and next, to bring those to justice, who had so basely betrayed their trust; and in this he was so earnest, that perhaps he failed a little in point of form, since, in order to their trial, he granted a commission, which it has been questioned, whether he might legally do; but he certainly acted from two very excusable reasons; the first was, that he found himself in no condition to preside in a court-martial, having been ill of a fever, which ensued upon cutting off his leg from the time of his coming ashore; the other, that, in case he had

^{*} The copy of this letter I received from Mr. Calton, whose authority I have so often mentioned.

been able to assist upon that occasion, he was desirous of declining it, from his having so great a personal interest in the affair. After the court-martial was over, the admiral lived near a month; for that court sat on the 6th of October, and the admiral died on the 4th of November following¹.

He was all that time extremely sensible of his danger, and never entertained any flattering hopes of recovery. Yet, during that long illness, he supported his character as an English admiral, with the same firmness he had shewn during the engagement, giving all the necessary orders for protecting the trade, that could have been expected from him, if he had been in perfect health; and, in the letters he wrote home to his lady, he discovered much greater anxiety for the interest of the nation, than for his private fortune, or the concerns of his family. The queen had so just a regard for the memory of this gallant man, that she spoke of his loss with great regret; and, as I have already shewn, would not suffer herself to be teased into an ill-timed act of mercy (though, like all her family, most tender in her own nature) towards those, who, through their cowardice, were sprinkled with his blood. His sister had, in his life-time, presented the admiral's picture to the corporation of Shrewsbury, who caused it to be hung up in their town-hall; where it still remains, as a testimony of the regard his countrymen had for this worthy officer and true patriot^m.

The vice-admiral left behind him a numerous posterity of both sexes; but his sons dying, all of them without issue, his two surviving daughters, became co-heiresses; and of these, the eldest married Paul Calton, Esq; of Milton, near Abington, in the county of Berks. John Benbow, one of his sons, claims some notice in a work of this nature, independent of his relation to his gallant father. He was bred to the sea, and went to the

¹ London Gazette, N^o. 3886. History of Europe, for 1702, p. 497. British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 339.

^m Burchet's naval history, p. 598. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 49, 50. 51. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303. Columna rostrata, p. 291. Mercure historique et politique, tom. xxxiv. p. 335, where it is said, his body was sent for home in order to be solemnly interred at the public expence, which, considering the manner of his death, would have been certainly right.

East Indies in quality of fourth mate, on board the *Degrave*, captain William Young, commander, which ship passed through the Downs, on February 19, 1701, when admiral Benbow lay there with his squadron, ready to proceed to the West Indies. The *Degrave* was a fine ship, of 700 tons, and carried fifty-two guns; she was bound for Fort St. George, in the East Indies, where she safely arrived, and proceeded from thence to Bengal, where her captain and first mate died; by which means the command devolved on the captain's son, who was second mate, and Mr. John Benbow became second mate. From Bengal, they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but, in going out of the river, the ship ran a-ground and stuck fast; she floated again the next high tide, and put to sea with little or no damage, as they then imagined; but they very soon after found her so leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going; in this condition they sailed two months, before they reached the island of St. Maurice, at that time inhabited by the Dutch, who received them kindly, gave them all the assistance in their power, permitting them to set up a tent on shore, into which they brought most part of their cargo, having unladed their ship, in order to search for the leak; which, however, they could not find. After about a month's stay at the island before-mentioned, and taking on board about fifty Lascars, or moorish seamen, they sailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope; they had then about one hundred and seventy hands on board, and, though the Lascars could not do much in point of navigation, they were, however, of great use, as they eased the English seamen from the labour of pumping. Yet, after all, it was fatal for them, that this rash resolution was taken, of putting to sea before they stopped, or even discovered the leak; for in a few days time it gained so much upon them, that, notwithstanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do, to keep the vessel above water, though they were still above six hundred leagues from their intended port^a.

^a Most of this account is taken from the travels of Robert Drury; which book, so far as it relates to Mr. Benbow, is very exact, as I have been informed by this gentleman's relations, from whom also I had some other circumstances, which the reader will find interspersed through this remarkable history,

The ship's company, believing that common danger put them all on an equality, represented to captain Young, that his design of proceeding to the Cape, was become impracticable; and that therefore the wisest thing he could do, was to make the nearest land, which was that of Madagascar, to the southward of which, they had sailed about an hundred leagues. The captain complied with their advice, and endeavoured to run the ship on shore; but that was found impracticable likewise; so that when they were within a quarter of a mile of the coast, they let go an anchor first, and then cut down all her masts and rigging, and threw their guns and goods overboard, in hopes of making the ship swim nearer; but this being found also impossible, and having already lost their long-boat and pinnace, they resolved to make a raft, which they did in the night; and the next morning Mr. Pratt, their chief mate, with four men, went in a little boat on shore with a rope, by which they proposed to warp the raft.

This boat was staved to pieces, before it reached the land; but the men escaped, and secured the rope, which brought the raft on shore, with the rest of the ship's company, except the captain, who remained last on board the ship, and did not leave her, till he found she began to break to pieces, and then he threw himself into the sea, and swam ashore. They were quickly made prisoners by the king of that part of the island, who carried them fifty miles up into the country, where they found one captain Drummond, and one captain Stewart, with a few of their ship's crew, in the same situation with themselves; and who soon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by assuring them that the king intended to make them serve him in his wars, and would never permit them to return to Europe; which struck them, as may be imagined, with the utmost consternation^o.

In

^o This captain Drummond is the same I have mentioned in my former volume, as commander of the *Rising Sun*, a ship belonging to the Scots East India company; he came to trade at Madagascar, and while his ship lay at anchor, she was surprized by a pirate, who suffered the captain, with his friend captain Stewart, and a few hands, to go ashore in the long-boat; in the territories of the same prince who made Mr. Benbow prisoner. It was for the supposed murder of this captain Drummond, that one captain Green, a very honest English gentleman,

In this distress, the captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a consultation, in conjunction with Mr. Pratt, and Mr. Benbow, in which captain Drummond proposed it, as the only expedient by which they could possibly recover their liberty, to seize the black king, and march off with him prisoner into some other province of the island, where the ships more frequently came. Mr. Benbow warmly espoused this proposal, and assisted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more ease than was expected; and the king, his son, and his queen, were made prisoners; but the queen was released by captain Young, out of mere pity. It is not very easy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, when between fifty and sixty white people, and not above half of these armed, carried off a black prince, out of the midst of his capital, and in the sight of some hundreds, nay, some thousands, of his subjects, better armed than themselves; who were, notwithstanding, restrained from firing upon them, by captain Young's threatening immediately to kill their king if they did.

Afterwards, however, they mismanaged the thing strangely; for, upon a proposal made by the negroes to give them six guns for their king, it was agreed to give him up, upon a supposition that the blacks would then follow them no farther; and this, notwithstanding Mr. Benbow warmly opposed it, and shewed them the mischievous consequences with which so wild a measure must be attended. The king being given up, the blacks still continued to follow them, though at a distance, at last it was agreed to give up the prince too, upon a supposition, that this would put an end to the pursuit; taking, however, three

pleman, his mate, Mr. Mather, and several other persons, were executed in Scotland, on the testimony of a black, and more had been executed, but for the care of the late worthy duke of Argyle, who interposed out of pure generosity, and procured their pardons. I remember, while a boy, to have seen the captain Green's original journal, in the custody of a merchant in Edinburgh, who did him all the service in his power, at the hazard of his own life; from which journal it appeared, that they only met with captain Drummond at sea, as they were homeward bound, on board whose ship captain Green dined, and received from him a present of a bible, which was made use of to corroborate the black's evidence; who, from a wicked spirit of revenge, perjured himself, that he might murder his master.

people,

people, who, the blacks told them, were the principal men in their country, by way of hostages, of whom two soon made their escape; and then the blacks not only pursued them, but began to fire upon them, which hitherto they had not done. The weakness of their own conduct, and the wisdom of Mr. Benbow's advice, was by this time visible to every body; and, as it now appeared clearly they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to dispose their little army in order of battle. Thirty-six armed men were divided into four bodies, commanded by the three captains and Mr. Benbow; but, after an engagement that lasted from noon till six in the evening, it was agreed to treat. The negroes demanded their arms, and then promised to let them go; and, at the persuasion of captain Young, this wild proposition was accepted, though vigorously opposed by Mr. Benbow; but, when it came to be put in execution, the captains Drummond and Stewart^e, with four or five of their crew, refused to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the night, accompanied by Mr. Benbow, and got safe to Port Dauphine, while the rest were cruelly murdered, except one Robert Drury, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years old, whom they preserved, and made a slave. As for Mr. Benbow, after remaining several years amongst the negroes, where he lived after their manner, and went naked, he escaped on board a Dutch ship, the captain of which had been well acquainted with his father, and, for his sake, treated him with great kindness and respect^e.

^p The reader may, perhaps, be desirous of knowing what became of this captain Drummond, of which nothing more can be said, than what is found in the travels of Drury, who remained so many years upon the island. He informs us, that he saw captain Drummond once, several years after they parted, and that he was then at liberty, and lived as happily as it was possible for a man of his education to do in such a country; and he farther adds, that the year he came away, which was in 1716, he was informed, that captain Drummond had been killed by a negro; but without any particular circumstances.

^q I had this particular of Mr. Benbow's escape, in a Dutch ship, from several persons of Mr. Benbow's acquaintance, who had received it from his own mouth; for his escape was so wonderful, and attended with such surprising circumstances, that many people had the curiosity to visit Mr. Benbow, in order to hear it from himself, in which he very readily gratified them, though otherwise a man of much taciturnity.

This Mr. John Benbow lived many years after here in England, and composed a work, intitled, "A complete description of the south part of the Island of Madagascar;" which was a very curious and accurate performance, and therefore, often borrowed by his acquaintance, with some of whom it still remains; nor have the family, after the strictest search, been able to retrieve it. It would be certainly a kind present to the learned world, and, at the same time, an act of great justice to the memory of Mr. Benbow, if any gentleman, in whose hands it now is, would publish it, because it contains many things of a commercial, as well as historical and philosophical nature. I do not know whether, strictly speaking, so long an account of Mr. Benbow's misfortunes be reconcileable to a work of this nature; but as the recital of them cannot but be entertaining to the reader; and as so many remarkable facts might have been buried in oblivion, if I had not taken this occasion to preserve them, I hope I shall at least stand excused, if not justified, for the liberty I have taken; and, in this hope, I return to the thread of my history, and to the memoirs which occur next in order of time.

As I have made great use of Drury's travels, I think it necessary to insert the following certificate, by captain William Mackett, whose reputation was so well established, both for understanding and probity, that nobody judged it possible for him to be either deceived himself in a case of this nature, or capable of entering into a design of deceiving or assailing others; and, therefore, his certificate seems sufficient to establish this author's credit. It runs thus:

"This is to certify, That Robert Drury, fifteen years a slave in Madagascar, now lying in London, was redeemed from thence, and brought into England, his native country, by myself. I esteem him an honest, industrious man, of good reputation, and do firmly believe, that the account he gives of his strange and surprising adventures is genuine and authentic.

"May 7, 1728.

W. MACKETT."

MEMOIRS of SIR RALPH DELAVAL,
Knt. Vice-admiral of the Red, and Joint-admiral and
Commander in Chief of the Fleet.

IT is a misfortune, which we must be content to deplore, without hopes of redress, since it is a misfortune flowing from liberty, that in all free countries the greatest men are liable to be sacrificed to clamour; and innocence is not always a security against the shafts of envy. This was the case of the gentleman of whom we are now to speak, and who, in the short space of one single summer, was in the highest credit, lost it, and was actually laid aside: so fluctuating a thing is human happiness; so fickle a possession is popularity, and so little to be depended on a prince's favour! These are the reflections that will naturally arise on the reading the memoirs of our admiral; and they are premised only to shew, that I think as the reader does, and do not believe myself obliged to follow the humours of those, who have treated his memory with the same prejudice with which they pursued him living.

Sir Ralph Delaval was the son of a worthy gentleman in the north of England, of the same name, distinguished for his loyalty to king Charles I. and king Charles II. and to whose house general Lesley had leave given him by Cromwell to retire, after the fatal battle of Worcester*. Mr. Ralph Delaval came very early into the navy, under the protection of the duke of York, who treated him with great kindness, and took care he should not lose his turn in preferment. By this means it was, that he came to be captain of the York, a third rate man of war, in which station the revolution found him†.

He concurred heartily in that great change, though he had no hand in making it; and, therefore, king William, who was

* Complete history of Europe, for 1707, p. 445.

† Memoirs of the state of the royal navy of England for ten years, ending December 1688, by Samuel Pepys, Esq; secretary to the admiralty, during the reigns of king Charles II. and king James II. London, 1690, 12mo, p. 165.

a prince of great penetration, soon promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and at the same time conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; in this station he served under the earl of Torrington, in the famous battle off Beachy-Head, in which the English and Dutch fleets were beat by the French on the 30th of June, 1690; but without any impeachment of his own character, either in point of courage or conduct, as appears plainly by his being appointed president of the court-martial which tried the earl, and which sat on board the Kent, on the 10th of December in the same year, and in which he was unanimously acquitted; and, if I mistake not, the share he had in that affair subjected him to the hatred of a certain set of men ever after; but that he was in reality no way to blame, will appear by his being immediately after declared vice-admiral of the blue by king William, in which station he served, the next year, under admiral Russel; and, in the winter of the same year, was appointed to command a squadron in the Soundings; where, if he did little, it was owing to the bad season of the year, and contrary winds, by which he was four times beat back into Torbay; however, he punctually executed his orders, and thereby hindered the French from relieving Limerick, which much facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland^u.

In 1692, when it was known the French were sitting out by far the greatest fleet they ever had at sea, he was appointed to serve under admiral Russel, was also declared vice-admiral of the red, and intrusted with a large squadron of English and Dutch ships, with orders to cruize for our homeward-bound fleet from the Mediterranean, and then join the main fleet; which he performed with great conduct and success; and having first seen seventy of our merchant-men safe into port, he next, according to his instructions, joined admiral Russel on the 13th of May, at St. Helen's; which was then justly considered as a very signal service, for, if he had been twenty-four

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 428. Bishop Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. Pointer's chronological-historian, vol. i. p. 375.

hours later,* it might have been of the greatest prejudice to the service †.

On the 15th of the same month, a council of war was called of all the flag-officers on board the fleet, wherein it was resolved, in obedience to the positive commands of queen Mary who was then regent, to sail the first fair weather for the coast of France. In this council of war the admiral took notice of an intimation which had been given him by the secretary of state, that reports were spread, as if several captains of the fleet had given secret assurances to king James's friends on shore, of their readiness to join them, and of their confidence that they should be able to carry over a great part of the fleet. As nobody knew against whom this information was particularly pointed, it was thought necessary, that the queen might be thoroughly satisfied of their loyalty and integrity, to draw up the following paper, which was done upon the spot ‡.

“ We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects and servants, flag-officers and captains in your majesty's fleet, out of a deep and grateful sense of your majesty's good and just opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, imparted to us by the right honourable admiral Russel, in a letter to him from the earl of Nottingham, principal secretary of state, do, in behalf of ourselves, and all the other officers and seamen, humbly presume to address ourselves to your majesty at this juncture, to undeceive the world as to those false and malicious reports which have been lately spread in prejudice of your majesty's service, by people disaffected to the government, and who have an aversion to the quiet and good of their country; that there are some among us who are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to, the present happy establishment. We do, therefore, most humbly beg leave to add to our repeated oaths, this assurance of our fidelity: That we will, with all imaginable alacrity and resolution,

* Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 134, 135. This is a proof of his zeal and activity in the service, independent of its consequences.

† Lond. Gaz. N^o. 2767. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 640. Bishop Burnet's history of his own times, vol. iii. p. 92.

“ venture ourselves in the defence of the government, and of
 “ the religion and liberty of our country, against all Popish in-
 “ vaders whatsoever. And, that God Almighty may preserve
 “ your majesty’s most sacred person, direct your councils, and
 “ prosper your arms by sea and land against your enemies,
 “ may all people say Amen, with your majesty’s most dutiful
 “ and loyal subjects. Dated on board the *Britannia*, at St. He-
 “ len’s, the 15th of May, 1692.” This address was signed by
 Sir John Ashby, admiral of the blue; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-
 admiral of the red; George Rooke, Esq; vice-admiral of the
 blue; Sir Cloudefley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; Richard
 Carter, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue; and all the captains of
 the fleet ⁷.

On the 18th of May, admiral Ruffel stood over to the French coast, and, on the 19th, engaged the enemy in the glorious battle of La Hogue; in which Sir Ralph Delaval, as vice-admiral of the red, did his duty with great reputation, and, pursuant to the admiral’s order, formed the rear of the fleet in such a manner, that though several of the French ships that had suffered least, hovered round, and attempted to do mischief, they were obliged, at length, to seek their safety, as the rest of the fleet had done before, by a plain flight ²; and he afterwards did remarkable service in destroying some of the enemy’s largest ships ³.

It was natural to expect, after so gallant an action as this, that every officer who had a signal concern therein, should be encouraged and promoted; but it fell out, in some measure, otherwise, from that cause which is generally fatal to the merits of English officers, the power of party-interest. A spirit

⁷ It would have been of some use, if the names of these captains had been printed, of which I take notice, in order, as far as is in my power, to prevent future omissions of the like kind, which defeat us of lights in history, which are often of more consequence than perhaps the writers of the *Gazettes* can imagine.

² See the admiral’s letter to the earl of Nottingham, and all the relations hitherto published of that engagement, in which this fact of preserving the rear of our fleet is allowed to have secured and established the victory, and to have contributed the most of any thing to the defeat of the French.

³ Life of king William, p. 332. Burchet’s naval memoirs, p. 245. Larrey *histoire d’Angleterre*, tome iv. p. 712.

had been raised against admiral Russel, who commanded in chief; and king William, for certain reasons, found himself under a necessity of laying that great man aside, which also obliged him to put the command of the fleet into commission ^b.

Accordingly, Henry Killebrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Knts. were appointed joint-admirals of the fleet, which was reputed one of the greatest the maritime powers had ever sent to sea^c. In the month of May, the admirals formed their line of battle at St. Helen's, which consisted of seventy ships of the line, thirteen frigates, nineteen fire-ships, besides brigantines, bomb-vessels, and hospital-ships. Bishop Burnet ^d, and some other writers, would have us believe, that the inactivity of this mighty naval armament was owing to the secret inclination that two of the admirals, Killebrew and Delaval, had for the service of king James; but the real truth of the matter was, that the fleet was not either victualled or manned; the men being put to short allowance at their first going to sea, and five regiments of foot ordered on board from Portsmouth, purely to make up an appearance of manning.

Besides all this, the ministry were absolutely deceived in their intelligence; in consequence of which they sent impracticable, inconsistent, and, at last, contrary orders. For, first, the admirals were enjoined to attack the French fleet at Brest, to which port it was believed the Toulon squadron was already come, and dispositions were accordingly made for that service; but, upon sending the Warspight to look into Brest, it was found there was not so much as a ship there. Before the return of this frigate, the grand fleet had convoyed Sir George Rooke, with the great Turkey fleet under his care, twenty leagues farther than it was first intended; and yet they had scarce parted with them, before they had an account, that the Toulon squadron was actually in the Mediterranean. It was

^b Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 157, where it appears, that admiral Russel was exceedingly uneasy at his having nothing to do, but lytossing at sea, expecting troops, transports, and orders, which came at last so preposterously, that after all he could do nothing. This uneasiness was esteemed pride and peevishness, for which the subverter of the naval power of France, as this gentleman was owned to be, in the medals struck for the victory, was for the present deprived of command.

^c See vol. ii. p. 376.

^d History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 103.

then proposed, in a council of war, to follow Sir George to Lisbon; but this design was laid aside for two reasons; first, because the court having already sent orders to Sir George to return, it was very uncertain, whether they should be able to meet him; and, secondly, because upon a review of their provisions, and after an equal repartition of them it was found, they had not sufficient for such an expedition, even at short allowance^e.

The admirals having communicated all this to the court, orders were sent them, on the 25th of August, to return to St. Helen's, which they did; and having landed the regiments they had on board, the fleet separated, part of the great ships were laid up, and the remainder were appointed for a winter guard; and thus (if they can be so called) the operations of the campaign ended^f. The misfortune that befel Sir George Rooke, and the Turkey fleet under his convoy, naturally occasioned a great clamour; and upon this, a very strict inquiry was made into the affair, first by the privy-council, and then by parliament, where, on the 17th of November, the house of commons came to a resolution, "That, in the affair of convoying " Sir George Rooke to sea, there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement;" and yet, when the question was put for censuring the admirals who commanded in chief, it met with a negative^g.

We must therefore, in order to reconcile these two votes,

^e This is among the number of those transactions, which never are to be understood from general histories, and which are with very great difficulty unravelled in a house of commons. He who obeys orders does his duty certainly, though he should do his country injury by his obedience, because a general example of disobedience is of much worse consequence than any particular wrong step with regard to the conduct of an expedition; and besides, if you take away this general rule of obedience, it is impossible for men to know how to conduct themselves from the highest to the lowest station; add to all which, that where men receive doubtful, perplexed, and confused orders, they ought, in regard to their own safety, to adhere closely to the letter, and leave such as drew the orders to answer for them.

^f Burchet's naval history, p. 490. The present state of Europe for the month of August, 1693. London Gazette, No. 2901. ^g Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 657. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 87. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 420, 421.

suppose

suppose the opinion of the house of commons to have been, that this notorious and treacherous mismanagement was not in them: And indeed bishop Burnet, though he condemns the admirals, has left us such an account of their justification, as seems to confirm this supposition; for he says, that the orders sent them from the cabinet council, were ill given, and worse executed^b. Now, it may be questioned, how bad orders can be well executed? But the Bishop goes farther; he tells us, that these orders were weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective; to which he adds, that the admirals shewed no other sign of zeal, than in strictly obeying these orders. I should be glad to know, what other zeal they could shew, when under such instructions, and with a fleet in such a condition^c.

The business, however, ended in laying Mr. Killegrew and Sir Ralph Delaval aside; and, to speak my sentiments freely, I believe this to be as much the effect of party-spirit, as the laying aside admiral Russel was the year before. As for Sir Cloudefley Shovel, he happened to be in favour with the party that disliked the other two admirals, and so he escaped, though he had concurred with them in every thing. I do not say this, with the smallest design of reflecting on the memory of that brave man, who, I am entirely persuaded, was not at all culpable; but only to shew the pernicious effects of party intrigues, by which all things were then governed: I wish I could say, that nothing like it has ever happened since^d.

^b History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 223.

^c If it had ever occurred to bishop Burnet, that the absurd, confused, indigested orders, which himself suggests so disgusted admiral Russel, as to hinder his doing any thing of consequence, after his glorious victory the year before, came from the very same persons who puzzled and perplexed the joint admirals, he would not have imputed disaffection to them, but have acquiesced with the house of commons in censuring their inactivity without loading the commanders.

^d In such cases, the fairest way is to take the judgment of the sailors. If a man, who has been unfortunate, retains the love of such as he commanded; there seems to be no reason for laying him aside, because such an officer, when employed again, will be more vigilant than any other, in order to retrieve his credit; and the French have, generally speaking, pursued this maxim with equal honour and advantage. It is always right to punish bad conduct in an officer, even where he has success; but to punish a good officer merely for want of success, is barbarous and base; contrary to the maxims of discipline and good policy.

Sir Ralph Delaval lived thenceforward privately, as a country gentleman, upon his own estate, which was very considerable, and troubled not himself with public affairs. He died in the beginning of the month of January, 1707, and on the 23d of the same month was buried with great solemnity in Westminster-Abbey. The violence of party-prejudice being then abated, he went to the grave with the reputation of a great and gallant officer, and of a generous, hospitable man; which, according to the best accounts I have been able to procure, he certainly deserved; though he was so unfortunate as to pass nine years of his life in an obscure retirement, and that too, in a season when his service might have been most useful to his country¹.

MEMOIRS of SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, Knight, Rear-Admiral of England, &c.

IT is certainly a just observation, that virtue alone creates nobility. He who enjoys a title by birth, derives it from the virtue of his ancestors; and he who raises himself into high rank, which is a sort of self-creation, supplies the want of ancestors by personal merit. Under all free governments, the latter ought to be encouraged, as well as the former respected; for, as every such government must flourish or decline, according to that portion of public spirit, which is found among its subjects; so the only means by which this spirit can be either excited or maintained, is the proper distribution of rewards, and the strict punishment of criminals. Where virtue is neglected, and vice unpunished, corruption is at the height, and the dissolution of that state near at hand.

We were not in any such situation, at the time this brave man was born, which was about the year 1650. His parents were but in middling circumstances; and as they had some expectations from a relation, whose name was Cloudesley, they thought fit to bestow that name upon their son, as a probable means of recommending him to this relation's notice. But, whether they

¹ The complete history of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 447. Le Neve's *monumenta Anglicana*, p. 121. *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. xlii. p. 180.

were disappointed in their views, or, from what other accident it arose, I am not able to say; but so it was, that young Cloudesley Shovel was put out apprentice to a mean trade; I think to that of a shoemaker, to which he applied himself for some years; but being of an aspiring disposition, and finding no appearance of raising his fortune in that way, he betook himself to the sea, under the protection of Sir John Narborough, with whom, I speak it to his honour, he went as a cabin-boy; but applying himself very assiduously to navigation, and having naturally a genius for that art, he soon became an able seaman; and as those were stirring times, in which merit always thrives, he quickly arrived at preferment. This he, in a great measure, owed to the favour of that famous person, who, having been cabin-boy to Sir Christopher Mynnes, was a man who raised himself to the highest honours of his profession, by mere dint of capacity, and therefore proved a generous patron of all who discovered any extraordinary degree of worth, and this was what recommended Mr. Shovel to his notice ^m.

After the close of the second Dutch war, our merchants, in the Mediterranean, found themselves very much distressed by the piratical state of Tripoli; which, notwithstanding several treaties of peace that had been concluded with them, began to commit fresh depredations, almost as early as the Dutch war broke out. As soon, therefore, as the king found himself at leisure, he ordered a strong squadron into those parts, to repress the insolence of these corsairs, under the command of Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the spring of the year 1674, where he found all things in very good order for his reception. The appearance of the enemy's strength, joined to the nature of his instructions, which directed him to try negotiation rather than force, determined him to send a person in whom he could confide, to the Dey of Tripoli, to propose terms of accommodation, and those too very moderate in their nature; for he desired only satisfaction for what was past, and security for the time to come. The admiral intrusted Mr. Shovel with this message, who accordingly went on shore, and delivered it with great spirit. But the Dey, despising his youth, treated

^m Complete history of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 499.

him with much disrespect, and sent him back with an indefinite answer^a.

Mr. Shovel, on his return to the admiral, acquainted him with some remarks he had made on shore: Sir John sent him back again with another message, and well furnished with proper rules for conducting his inquiries and observations. The Dey's behaviour was worse the second time; but Mr. Shovel, though naturally warm, bore it with wonderful patience, and made use of it as an excuse for staying some time longer on shore. When he returned, he assured the admiral, that it was very practicable to burn the ships in the harbour, notwithstanding their lines and forts: accordingly, in the night of the 4th of March, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats in the fleet, filled with combustible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and, as I have already related in another place^c, destroyed the enemy's ships, with a degree of success scarce to be conceived; of which Sir John Narborough gave so honourable an account in all his letters, that the next year Mr. Shovel had the command given him of the *Sapphire*, a fifth rate, from whence he was not long after removed into the *James* galley, a fourth rate, in which he continued to the death of king Charles II. who first raised, and had always a great kindness for him^d.

There were reasons which engaged king James to employ captain Shovel, though he was a man far enough from being in his favour; accordingly he was preferred to the command of the *Dover*, a fourth rate, in which situation he was, when the re-

^a The reader has seen the whole of this affair in the former volume, which plainly shews, of how great importance it is to excite and encourage an observing spirit, and an intrepid valour in young officers, Sir John Narborough frankly ascribing this important service to the courage, and, which is more, to the conduct of his boy Shovel, as he always called him.

^b See vol. ii. p. 165.

^c Kennet's complete history of England, volume iii. p. 355. Burchet's naval history, p. 404. *Columna rostrata*, p. 251; and Sir John Narborough's letter to Sir Paul Rycaut. *Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, p. 12. This hardy enterprise was not only highly honourable to the reputation of the English arms at sea, but of infinite consequence to our commerce; which remained from this time forward safe from the insults of these barbarous and thievish enemies, who were now convinced, that forts and lines were no securities against the courage of English seamen.

volution took place⁹. This was very fortunate for captain Shovel, as well as very agreeable to his way of thinking; which, together with his activity in the service, (for he was in every engagement almost that happened during that reign), made him very conspicuous, and made his rise in the navy as quick as he could wish. He was in the first battle, I mean that of Bantry-bay, in the *Edgar*, a third rate, and gave such signal marks of his courage and conduct, that when king William came down to Portsmouth, he was pleased, on the recommendation of admiral Herbert, who, for that action, was raised to the dignity of earl of Torrington, to confer upon him and captain Ashby, of the *Defiance*, the honour of knighthood¹⁰.

This was soon followed by further services, as they were by additional rewards; for Sir Cloudesley, after cruising in the Soundings, and on the coast of Ireland, during the winter of the year 1690, and the ensuing spring, was, in the month of June, employed in convoying king William and his army into Ireland; who was so highly satisfied with his diligence and dexterity, (for without question, in matters of this nature, he was one of the ablest commanders ever put to sea), that he was graciously pleased, not only to appoint him rear-admiral of the blue, but did him also the honour, with his own hands, to deliver him his commission¹¹.

After performing this service, it was intended he should have joined the grand fleet; but on the 10th of July, king William receiving information, that the enemy intended to send upwards of twenty small frigates, the biggest not above thirty-six guns, into St. George's channel, to burn the transport-ships, he was ordered to cruise off Scilly, or in such a station as he should judge most proper for preventing that design; and to send frigates to ply eastward and westward, to gain intelligence of the body of the French fleet, so that he might be the better able to provide for his own safety. And they, upon meeting with vice-

⁹ Pepy's memoirs of the royal navy of England, p. 164.

¹⁰ An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 20. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 11. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 20.

¹¹ Burchet's memoirs, p. 58. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 598. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 22.

admiral Killegrew, in his return from the Straights, were to give him notice of all circumstances, that so he might likewise take care not to be intercepted^t.

He cruized up and down in the aforesaid station, till the 21st of July, without meeting any thing remarkable; and then the Dover and Experiment joined him from the coast of Ireland, with a ketch that came out of Kingfale, on board of which was colonel Hacket, captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, Esq; Anthony Thompson, Esq; captain Thomas Power, Mr. William Sutton, and six servants, who were following king James to France, in order to their accompanying him in his intended expedition to England. They gave Sir Cloudesley an account, that king James took shipping at Duncannon, and sailed to Kingfale; but after staying there a little above two hours, he proceeded to France, with two Spanish frigates, that had lain there for that purpose a considerable time; and that he carried with him the lord Powis, Sir Roger Strickland, and captain Richard Trevanion^u.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed afterwards to Kingfale, and, as I have shewn in the former volume, did all that could reasonably be expected from him, in regard to what was prescribed by his orders, and yet without much success. But an opportunity quickly offered of demonstrating his zeal and affection for the service. General Kirke, with a handful of troops, was before the strong town of Waterford, which he could not take, on account of the numerous garrison in Duncannon castle, commanded by general Bourk, who professed his resolution to defend both town and fort, as long as one stone remained upon another; Sir Cloudesley rightly guessed, that a good part of this bravery proceeded from certain intelligence, that Mr. Kirke had not a single piece of cannon; upon which he sent him word, that he was ready to assist him from his Squadron, not only with

^t These expeditions, which give little pleasure to either author or reader, are most perilous to sea officers. If they perform all they are commanded, which is always difficult, not always possible, there is no praise to be hoped. But, if they fail, a storm of clamour arises, and as men of courage are seldom men of art, 'tis odds they suffer shipwreck on shore.

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 431. The complete history of Europe, for 1707, p. 501. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

guns, but with boats and men; which, on the general's accepting this proposition, he accordingly did; and then general Bourk was so prudent as to surrender the place, before there was so much as one stone beat from another^w.

The remainder of the year 1690 was spent by Sir Cloudeſley for the moſt part in cruizing, till he was ordered to make part of Sir George Rooke's ſquadron, which eſcorted the king to Holland, in the month of January following^x. — On the 13th of April his majeſty landed in England, when having given directions for haſtening out the fleet, and diſpatched other affairs of great importance, that prince embarked again for Holland, on the 1ſt of May, and on the 18th of October following returned to England, in the Mary yacht, being then alſo attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel^y.

It was his felicity, that, as his ſervices were well intended, ſo, generally ſpeaking, they were well received; and, if Sir Cloudeſley Shovel at any time miſſed of ſucceſs, nobody ever pretended to fix imputations upon his conduct. His courage, and his ſincerity, were alike unqueſtionable; and though this was not the moſt credulous age, yet there never was heard of ſuch an infidel, as one who did not believe Shovel had both.

On this account, moſt people were very well ſatisfied, when the king, in the ſpring of the year 1692, and juſt before he ſet out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red; and, at the ſame time, commander of the ſquadron that was to convoy him thither^z. On his return from thence, he joined admiral Ruſſel with the grand fleet, and had a great ſhare in the danger, and as great a ſhare in the glory of the famous victory at La Hogue. For the French, after an engagement for ſome hours, breaking their line, and Tourville being diſcovered to tow away northward, when the weather cleared up, the Engliſh admiral gave the ſignal for chacing, and ſent notice to all the ſhips, that the

^w Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 57. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the ſtuarts, vol. ii. Hiſtory of the wars in Ireland, p. 138, 139.

^x Burchet's memoirs, p. 63. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 612. The preſent ſtate of Europe, for the month of January, 1691, p. 34

^y Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 618.

^z The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 504.

enemy was retiring. At the same time, several broadsides were heard to the westward, and, though the ships that fired could not be seen, it was concluded they were the blue squadron, that by a shift of wind had weathered the French; it proved, however, to be the brave Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, who had, with wonderful pains and diligence, weathered their admiral's own squadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue^a; but, after he had fired upon the French for some time, Tourville, as well as the admiral of that squadron, came to an anchor with some of the ships of their division, but could not discover one another by reason of the thickness of the weather^b.

When it was thought requisite, as we have had occasion more than once to observe, that the fleet should be put under the joint admirals in the succeeding year, he was one; and perhaps, if there had been nothing more than this joint commission, we might well enough account from thence for the misfortune that happened in our affairs at sea during the year 1693^c. This the intelligent reader will the more easily credit, when he is put in mind, that these joint admirals were of different parties; that is to say, Killegrew and Delaval were declared Tories, and Shovel a determined Whig. Yet, as they were all good seamen, and very probably all meant their country well, though they did not agree in the manner of serving it, it is most likely, that, upon mature consideration of the posture things were then in, the orders they had received from court, and the condition of the fleet, which was not either half-manned or half-victualled, the admirals might agree, that a cautious execution of the instructions they had received was a method as safe for the nation, and more so for themselves, than any other they could take. There

^a Kennet. *Columna rostrata*, p. 260. *Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, p. 51.

^b It may not be amiss to mention here the care taken by queen Mary to encourage those who had behaved so well in this engagement; for she was no sooner informed of the victory, than she immediately sent down 30,000 l. to be distributed amongst the soldiers and seamen, and gold medals for all the officers. Colonel Hastings, who was killed in the fight, was buried on the 7th of June in great state, the queen sending her coaches, and the nobility and gentry two hundred more; the whole being escorted by eight companies of guards.

^c *London Gazette*, N^o. 2839. *The complete history of Europe for 1709*, p. 525. *Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel*, p. 58.

was, therefore, no great reason for that piece of Dutch wit played off upon this occasion in a picture, wherein the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, one end of the cord being held by each of his colleagues; to insinuate, that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the admirals Killegrew and Delaval had not hindered him ^d.

But, when the affair came to be very strictly inquired into in parliament, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the bar of the house, defended his colleagues as well as himself, and gave so clear and plain an account of the matter, that it satisfied all people, who were capable of being satisfied, of the innocence of the commanders, I mean in point of treachery, which had been asserted by a vote of the house of commons; for which, if there was any foundation, it must have lain either among the inferior people at the admiralty, or those in the secretary of state's office, who were bribed to give intelligence to the French ^e. But possibly even this was but suspicion.

The character of Sir Cloudesley Shovel remaining absolutely unimpeached, we find him again at sea, in the year 1694, in the channel, and on the French coast, where he had the honour to command, as vice-admiral of the red; under lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the famous expedition to Camaret-bay; of which I have already given so large an account, that I think it altogether needless to repeat it here; and therefore shall only say, that Sir Cloudesley distinguished himself by his speedy and dextrous embarkation of the land forces, when they sailed upon that unfortunate expedition, as also when, on their return to England, it was thought necessary to send the fleet again upon the coast of France, to bombard Diepe and other places ^f.

Towards the end of the season the command devolved upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel, by lord Berkley's coming to London; and then he received his majesty's express commands to undertake the bombardment of Dunkirk, which he attempted, as I have shewn in the naval history of that year, to no purpose,

^d The complete history of Europe for 1707, p. 507. ^e Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 115, 116. Kenner, and all our historians. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 418, 422. ^f Mercure historique et politique, tome xvii. p. 219, where there are very pertinent remarks on these expeditions.

through the fault of the engineer, who had promised more than either he, or, as was then believed, any other man could perform. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, however, took care to demonstrate from his conduct, that there was no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat within the enemy's works, and so became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed to be done; and therefore, on his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed as a man who would command success where it was possible, and omit nothing in his power where it was not. He had his share in the remaining part of the war, and, after the peace of Ryswick, was always consulted by his majesty, whenever maritime affairs were under consideration ^s.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Anne he was not much in favour, and therefore I do not find him employed, though he was then admiral of the white, in any affair of importance, till he was sent to Vigo, after the taking that place by Sir George Rooke, to bring home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him, with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly shewed upon every occasion: for, arriving at Vigo on the 16th of October, he got things into such forwardness, that he carried off whatever could possibly be brought home, burnt the rest, and, notwithstanding the stormy season of the year, the foulness of his ships, and his being embarrassed with prizes, arrived safely in the Downs on the 7th of November; which was considered as so remarkable a service by the court, that it was immediately resolved to employ him in affairs of the greatest consequence for the future ^a.

Accordingly he commanded the grand fleet up the Straits in the year 1703, where he did every thing it was possible for an admiral to do, whose instructions were very extensive, and who yet wanted an adequate force to accomplish a great part of those instructions. It is in such conjunctures as these that the skill and

^s Borchet's naval history, book iv. ch. 13. The second volume of this history under the year 1694. The complete history of Europe for 1707, p. 508. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 60.

^a Borchet's naval history, p. 612; Columna rostrata, p. 275. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 83, 84. London Gazette, N^o. 3861, 3862.

capacity of an admiral chiefly appear; and in this expedition Sir Cloudesley gave as convincing proofs of his courage and conduct as any admiral could do; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; he did what was to be done for the relief of the Protestants then in arms in the Cevennes; he countenanced such of the Italian powers as were inclined to favour the cause of the allies, and he struck such a terror into the friends of the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to undertake for that court¹.

All this he did with a fleet very indifferently manned, and still worse victualled; so that, notwithstanding the management of our affairs at sea was severely censured that year in the house of commons, yet all parties agreed, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel had done his duty in every respect, and very well deserved the high trust and confidence that had been reposed in him².

In the year 1704, Sir George Rooke commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, to reinforce which Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent with a powerful squadron; and he took such care not only to execute his orders, but to distinguish in what

¹ Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 313. The complete history of Europe for 1703, p. 319. London Gazette, No. 3928.

² Bishop Burnet gives us but a melancholy account of this expedition, and yet he very honestly justifies the admiral's conduct. This prelate's account of the matter is very curious, and very well worth the reader's notice. I have not touched it in the former part of this volume, and therefore I think it will not be amiss to insert it here, as a proof that I do not overrate the merit of the great men whose actions I record: "It was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean; it was near the end of June before they were ready to sail; and they had orders to come out of the Straits by the end of September. Every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant ships, which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was sent to command; when he saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage: he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders. He got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence, and the allies began to take courage from it; but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood that, by his orders, he could only stay a few days there. Nor was it easy to imagine what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much money was thrown away on such a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends, who might justly think they could not depend upon such an ally, who managed so great a force with so poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it."

manner they ought to be executed, that, by joining the fleet in the midst of the month of June, he was very instrumental in the singular success that followed, as by that very action he effectually disappointed all the French schemes, though that court had boasted, they should be able to restore their maritime power, and give law to the confederates at sea that summer^l.

He took his part in the glorious action off Malaga, in which he behaved with the utmost bravery, as bishop Burnet very justly observes; and yet he had the good luck to escape extremely well in that action, though, as he said himself in his letter, he never took more pains to be well beat in his life; but he was very far from taking to himself, what some have since endeavoured to confer upon him, the glory of beating the French fleet, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a distance. This was not at all in Sir Cloudesley's nature; he would no more be guilty of an act of injustice of this sort, than he would have been patient in bearing it. He knew very well his own merit and his admiral's, and he did justice to both in the letter he wrote on that occasion, and of which the reader may find an extract in the former part of this volume.

This battle was fought on the 13th of August, 1704; Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; Sir Cloudesley's division consisted of nine ships, the *Barfleur*, *Eagle*, *Orford*, *Assurance*, *Warpight*, *Swiftsure*, *Nottingham*, *Tilbury*, and the *Lenox*, in which they had only one officer killed, viz. the first lieutenant of the *Lenox*, and seven wounded, 105 private men killed, and 303 wounded^m. After this victory the French never durst think of fighting our fleets; and, upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel's return, he was presented to the queen by prince George, as lord high-admiral of England, met with a very gracious reception, and was the next year employed asⁿ commander

^l Lamberti, tome iii. p. 324. Quincy, *histoire militaire*, tome iv. p. 426. *Memoirs d'Espagne*, tome i. p. 275—281.

^m Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 390. *Columna rostrata*, p. 278. *London Gazette*, No. 4054.

ⁿ I shall be obliged to touch some particulars in this engagement, when I come to the memoirs of Sir George Rooke; but it may not be amiss to observe here incidentally, that, at the beginning of the battle, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the van of the English fleet, narrowly missed being surrounded by the French, but that Sir George Rooke perceiving their design, bore down immediately to

mander in chief, being appointed rear-admiral of the fleet of England on the 6th of January following^a.

Sir Cloudesley had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aside^b; but after this was done, and it became necessary to send both a fleet and army to Spain, Sir Cloudesley thought it reasonable to accept the command of the fleet, jointly with the earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, and accordingly arrived at Lisbon with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line-of-battle ships, in the month of June, 1705, and, towards the latter end of the same month, sailed from thence to Catalonia, arriving before the city of Barcelona on the 12th of August^c, when the siege of the place was undertaken, though the English army was very little, if at all, superior to the garrison within the town.

There certainly never was an admiral in a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley Shovel found himself here. The scheme itself appeared very impracticable; the land-officers divided in their opinions; the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, upon whom king Charles principally depended, was not in speaking terms with the earl of Peterborough; all things necessary for the siege were in a manner wanting, and all hopes of supply depended on admiral Shovel, who on this occasion gave the most signal proofs not only of his vigilance, dexterity, and courage, but of his constancy, patience, and zeal for the public service^d.

He

his assistance; which seasonable succour Sir Cloudesley Shovel returned in the latter part of the engagement, when, several ships of the admiral's division being forced out of the line for want of ammunition, Sir Cloudesley very gallantly came in to his aid, and drew several of the enemy's ships from our centre, which, after they had felt the force of some of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's division, did not think it safe to advance along his; but, being clean and better sailers, they set their sprit-sails, and with their boats a-head, towed from him, without giving him the opportunity of exchanging with them so much as a single broadside.

^a London Gazette, N^o. 4086.

^b The complete history of Europe for 1705, p. 5. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

^c Sir Cloudesley sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's on the 22d of May; the earl of Peterborough went on board the next day, and the 24th the fleet sailed to the westward. London Gazette, N^o. 4126.

^d Burchet's naval history, book v. ch. 19. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 419. Dr. Freind's

He furnished guns for the batteries, and men to serve them; he landed, for the use of the army, almost all the military stores of the fleet; he not only gave prudent advice himself in all councils of war, but he moderated the heats and resentments of others, and, in short, was so useful, so ready, and so determined in the service, and took such care that every thing he promised should be fully and punctually performed, that his presence and councils in a manner forced the land-officers to continue the siege, till the place was taken, to the surprize of all the world, and, perhaps, most of all to the surprize of those by whom it was taken; for, if we may guess at their sentiments by what they declared under their hands in several councils of war, they scarce believed it practicable to reduce so strong a place with so small a force, and that so ill provided*.

How great a sense the queen had of this important service, and how much she was persuaded it would contribute to the advantage of the common cause, the reputation of her arms abroad, and the satisfaction of her subjects at home, may appear from her going expressly to parliament, upon this occasion, upon the 27th of November, 1705, where, being seated on the throne, she sent for the house of commons on purpose to communicate to them the news of this important success, which she did in the following speech, that deserves, for its singularity, as well as for its relation to the subject in hand, a place in this history:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ Having newly received letters from the king of Spain and
 “ the earl of Peterborough, which contain a very particular ac-
 “ count of our great and happy successes in Catalonia, and shew-
 “ ing at the same time the reasonableness of their being imme-
 “ diately supported, I look upon this to be a matter of such
 “ consequence in itself, and so agreeable to you, that I have or-
 “ dered a copy of the king of Spain's letter to myself, and a let-
 “ ter from the junto of the military army of Catalonia, and an-

account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, p. 34. An impartial inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, p. 17. Boyer's life of queen Anne. * Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii, p. 361. The complete history of Europe for 1705, p. 384. London Gazette, N^o. 4164, 4169, 4177, 4178. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 106.

“ other

“ other letter from the city of Vich, as also an extract of the
“ earl of Peterborough’s letter to me, to be communicated to
“ both houses of parliament.

“ I recommend the consideration of them to you, gentlemen
“ of the house of commons, very particularly, as the speediest
“ way to restore the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria;
“ and therefore I assure myself, you will enable me to prosecute
“ the advantages we have gained, in the most effectual manner,
“ and to improve the opportunity, which God Almighty is plea-
“ sed to afford us, of putting a prosperous end to the present
“ war.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I must not lose this occasion of desiring you to give as much
“ dispatch to the matters before you as the nature of them al-
“ low, that so, in our preparations for next year, you may be
“ early, which cannot fail of being a great advantage to us!”

The next year Sir Cloudesley again commanded the fleet; but it failed very late¹, so as not to reach the river of Lisbon till the month of November; and, even when it arrived there, the disputes which arose amongst the lords of king Charles’s council and his generals, with the delays of the Portuguese, who were far from being hearty in his cause, disappointed all the great designs of the maritime powers, and the effects that might have been reasonably expected from the powerful reinforcement of troops which were embarked on board the grand fleet. In this uneasy situation Sir Cloudesley Shovel did all that could be expected from a wise and vigilant commander; for he not only closely attended to the proper duties of his own charge, but left no method untried to prevail upon the generals and favourites of king Charles to come to such an agreement, as might secure the advantages already obtained, and effectually fix their master, who was then at Madrid, upon the throne of Spain.

But, though the care and concern of the admiral had very little effect on this side, yet his representations in Portugal met

¹ London Gazette, N^o. 4179.

² The queen’s fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the land forces on board, and the earl of Rivers as general in chief, sailed from Torbay the first of October. London Gazette, N^o. 4268.

with greater regard. It seems that one of the young princes of the royal family, who was of a very wild temper, had committed some odd insults on the seamen as they came ashore from the fleet, and the forts, at the entrance of the river, had fired upon some of our men of war; upon which Sir Cloudefley made his representations to the ministry; and, having received a very dissatisfactory answer, he immediately demanded a conference with a person of great distinction, who was then at the head of their councils, and told him plainly, that the seamen, so long as he bore the English flag, should maintain the strictest discipline while in the harbour of Portugal, and therefore he expected it should receive those marks of friendship and respect, which were due to so great a princess as the queen his sovereign; or, in case of any failure, he should think himself obliged to do his seamen, and the honour of his country, right, and not suffer the English flag to be insulted, while he had the honour to wear it. This Sir Cloudefley expressed in such a manner, and seconded his words with so brisk a resentment, when the first-mentioned affront was next repeated, that the crown of Portugal thought fit to issue out such orders as he desired, and things wore another face in that part of the world ever afterwards; which was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of Sir Cloudefley, who knew very well how to distinguish between the complaisance due to an ally, and that complying forbearance which is unworthy of an English admiral *.

The beginning of the year 1707 wore but an indifferent aspect for Sir Cloudefley. He had disposed all things in such a manner, as that he might be able to succour Alicant; and very probably had succeeded therein, if not prevented; when the troops were on the point of embarking, by an order from England. This order was obtained by the pressing instances of the court of Portugal, which represented here, that the forces might be more effectually employed in conjunction with their army. Orders were sent to this purpose, and a memorial was drawn up, containing the terms upon which her Britannic majesty would consent to the propositions made by the Portuguese minister, in the name, and on the behalf of his master. But,

* They had behaved in the same way to Sir John Leake in February, 1706. See Burchet's naval history, p. 690, 729.

notwithstanding this application, the Portuguese, being either unwilling or unable to comply with those demands, it was resolved in a council of war to resume the former project, and to land them at Alicant; for which orders soon after arrived from England*.

According to this resolution, the confederate fleet sailed on the 7th of January, with the land-forces from Lisbon to Alicant, where they arrived on the 28th of the same month, and were actually landed. But, through the delays the expedition met with, (an account of which we have formerly given), the troops, which at their sailing from England were little if any thing short of 30,000 men, were now found to be scarce 7000; and Sir Cloudesley finding that his presence would be of little use there, and that the fleet stood in need of repairs, left Alicant on the 17th of February, and returned to Lisbon, where he arrived the 11th of March following. There he received orders to prepare for the expedition against Toulon; of which we have already said much, and therefore shall be the more concise in what we are obliged to add further upon that subject here†.

The instructions which Sir Cloudesley Shovel received, in relation to this important affair, which, if it had succeeded, must have put an end to the war, by obliging the French king to abandon the support of his grandson in Spain, were sent him to Lisbon; and, in obedience to them, the admiral made such dispatch, that on the 10th of May he sailed for Alicant; where, having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, and in the latter end of the month of June, came to an anchor between Nice and Antibes; where he waited the arrival of the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, who ac-

* These disputes, and the delays they occasioned, ruined our affairs, and made this, which was the most expensive of all our wars, the most ineffectual. The Spanish malecontents had their particular views, so had the Portuguese, so had the Germans likewise; Charles III. as we called him, indeed had none, but followed the humour of his favourite for the time being.

† Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 479. The complete history of Europe, for 1707, p. 41. London Gazette, No. 4299, 4302, 4308, 4312.

tually came on board the 29th of that month, and were entertained by Sir Cloudesley with the utmost magnificence ^a.

The enemy were at that time strongly entrenched on the river Var, and had extended their works above four miles into the country. These entrenchments were defended by 800 horse, and six battalions of foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected, of three battalions more, under the command of lieutenant-general Dillon, an old Irish officer, from whose courage and conduct the French had reason to expect as much as from any man in their service; and indeed if he had arrived in those lines, it is very doubtful whether the confederates could have forced them. But Sir Cloudesley having observed to the duke, that part of the French lines were so near the sea, that it was in his power to cannonade them; and that he would land a body of seamen, who should attack the highest and strongest of their entrenchments; his royal highness consented that they should be attacked immediately ^a.

Accordingly, on the 1st of July, Sir Cloudesley ordered four English, and one Dutch man of war, to enter the mouth of the river Var, where they began to cannonade the French lines; soon after which, six hundred English seamen landed in open boats, under the command of Sir John Norris, who was quickly followed by the admiral; and having begun the attack, the enemy were so terrified with such an unexpected salutation, that they threw down their arms, after a short dispute, and abandoned their works ^b.

This great effort made by the English, not only procured an easy passage, where the greatest resistance was expected, but totally disconcerted the French schemes, since the troops had scarce quitted these entrenchments before they met, in their

^a Burnet, vol. ii. *Columna rostrata*, p. 284. The complete history of Europe, for 1707, p. 261. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4352. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 115

^b Burchet's naval history, p. 731, 732 Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 476. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Lond. Gaz. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 112.

^c See the London Gazette, N^o. 4352. wherein there is an account of this expedition, by authority. Complete history of Europe, for the year 1707, and all the French writers, who agree, that if this pass had not been forced by the English, the duke of Savoy and his army could not have proceeded farther.

march,

march, lieutenant-general Dillon, at the head of his twelve battalions, who was so astonished, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to abandon the town of St. Paul, and to continue his retreat. On the 14th, a council of war was held on board the admiral, in which it was resolved to prosecute the march to Toulon, which the duke of Savoy promised to reach in six days. It appears from this account, that whatever there was of zeal and spirit in the conduct of this affair, proceeded from the diligence and activity of Sir Cloudesley. He proposed forcing the passage of the Var, and executed it; he induced his royal highness of Savoy to pursue his march immediately; and, as soon as that resolution was taken, the admiral sailed with his fleet for the islands of Hieres, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemies correspondence with Italy^c.

The story, therefore, that is told of Sir Cloudesley's detaining a sum of money, must be without foundation: for, before the attack, his royal highness must have been perfectly satisfied, otherwise he would not have undertaken it; and he marched as soon as prince Eugene joined him, with the remainder of the forces, Sir Cloudesley Shovel seeing no more of him till he reached Toulon^d. But, instead of six, his royal highness made it

^c Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 477, 478. The complete history of Europe, for 1707. Olmixon, Boyer, and all our historians. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

^d I have, in the former part of this volume, given some account of the real and pretended reasons for the miscarriage of this expedition; and I there lay the greatest weight on the body of forces sent by the emperor Joseph, to conquer the kingdom of Naples; which expedition, first delayed, and then weakened, the attempt upon Toulon; but I had not at that time seen a valuable letter of her majesty queen Anne to the emperor, upon this subject; which, as it was never published, as it was written with her own hand, and contains matter of an extraordinary nature, I thought it might not be amiss to insert it here, rather than conceal it from the reader. This letter was to felicitate the emperor on the success of his arms in Naples.

"SIR, my Brother,

"I rejoice with all my heart, with your imperial majesty, on the reduction of the kingdom of Naples to the obedience of the Catholic king, of which he has given me an account by his letter of the 30th of August last; and I hope that by a joint pursuit, for the time to come, of whatever shall be ad-

it full twelve days before he attacked, in any manner, the place; and then never pretended to lay any blame upon Sir Cloudefley, but threw it on prince Eugene, who commanded the emperor's forces, and who had orders not to expose them. It is true, that when Sir Cloudefley went first to compliment the duke upon his safe arrival, and to receive his commands about landing artillery and ammunition, his royal highness told him, he was glad to see him at last, for the maritime powers had made him wait a long while; to which, when Sir Cloudefley answered, that he had not waited a moment since it was in his power, to wait upon his royal highness; he replied, smiling, "I did not say you, but the maritime powers had made me wait; for this expedition I concerted so long ago as 1693; and fourteen years is a long time to wait, Sir Cloudefley."

The admiral ordered immediately one hundred pieces of cannon to be landed from the fleet, for the service of the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; neither was he wanting, in any thing that was desired from him, during the whole affair, but rather exceeded what the duke and prince Eugene could reasonably expect, as well with regard to his personal attendance as to the service of the fleet. Besides, there was not any misfortune on his side, but it fell out altogether amongst the land-troops, who were beat from their posts with very great loss on the 15th of August, N. S. On the 16th the fleet began to cannonade the town, and throw bombs in the night, which was continued till such time as the siege was raised, and which obliged the French to sink all their capital ships,

"vantageous to the common cause, this success will be followed by another, equally glorious and important to the house of Austria, in putting my brother, the Catholic king, in possession of the Spanish monarchy, by the powerful succours that your imperial majesty will, after this happy event, be able to furnish him; to whom I wish all kind of prosperity, and to your imperial majesty a continual series of good fortune. This will give me extreme pleasure, as being,

"Your imperial majesty's

"Most affectionate sister,

"Kensington, Sept. 29, 1707.

"ANNE R."

c *Mercuré historique*, 1707, vol. ii. p. 331.

a distrust

a distress that more than countervailed the whole expence of this service, great as it was^f.

As the duke of Savoy never would have undertaken this affair without the assistance of the fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudesley; as he did nothing, when before Toulon, but by the assistance of the fleet, from whence he had all his military stores; so he could not possibly have made a safe retreat, if it had not been covered by the confederate fleet, which attended him again to the time of his repassing the Var. There some new disputes happened, in which Sir Cloudesley had little or no concern. Her Britannic majesty's minister laboured to persuade prince Eugene to take upon him the command of all the forces in Spain, in which the duke of Savoy likewise concurred; and Sir Cloudesley offered to transport his royal highness, with a body of troops under his command; but this proposition being rejected, his excellency bore away for the Streights; and soon after, resolved to return home, which was the last act of his life^g.

He left Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar, with nine ships of the line; three fifth rates, and one of the sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop, and a yacht, for England^h. On the 22d of October, he came into the Soundings, and in the morning had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but, at six in the evening, he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, believing, as it is presumed, that he saw the light on St. Agnes, one of the islands of Scilly. Soon after which, several ships of his fleet made the signal of distress, as he himself did; and it was with much difficulty that Sir George Byng, in the Royal Anne, saved himself, having one of the rocks under her main chains. Sir John Norris, and lord Dursley, also ran very great risks; and, as we have shewn elsewhere, several ships besides the admiral's perished. There were with him, on

^f Burchet's naval history, p. 732. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 302. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

^g Burnet. Oldmixon's history of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 302, 303. Annals of queen Anne, p. 107, 108. London Gazette, No. 4364.

^h Burchet's naval history, p. 733.

board the Association, his sons-in-law, Sir John Narborough, and James his brother, Mr. Trelawny, eldest son to the bishop of Winchester, and several other young gentlemen of quality. There is no saying how this unhappy accident fell out, or to whose fault it was owing, though a report prevailed immediately after it happened, that a great part of the crew had got drunk for joy that they were within sight of land.

Sir Cloudefley's body was thrown ashore the next day upon the island of Scilly, where some fishermen took him up, and, having stolen a valuable emerald ring from his finger, stripped and buried him. This ring, being shewn about, made a great noise all over the island, and coming to the ears of Mr. Paxton, who was purser of the Arundel, he found out the fellows, declared the ring to be Sir Cloudefley Shovel's, and obliged them to discover where they had buried the body^k; which he took up, and carried on board his own ship, in which it was transported to Plymouth, conveyed from thence by land to London, and buried, from his house in Soho-square, in Westminster-abbey, with great solemnity, where, if not an elegant, an expensive monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's direction, in order to do honour to the memory of so great a man, and so worthy and useful a subject^l.

Since the last edition of this work, a very ingenious and inquisitive writer^m, who had himself paid a visit to these islands,

ⁱ Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 485. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 394. Columna rostrata, p. 285, 286. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 304. Memoirs of Sir Cloudefley Shovel, p. 120. London Gazette, N^o. 4380.

^k Mercure historique et politique, tome xliii. p. 668, 669. Heath's natural and historical account of the islands of Scilly, p. 142, 144. There are various accounts of the finding Sir Cloudefley's body; some say, he was first discovered upon a hatch, with a little dog dead by him, endeavouring by that means to save himself. A soldier belonging to St. Mary's garrison, is reported to have first met with it, and to have interred it in the sand at Porthelic, which soldier lady Shovel, as some write, rewarded with a pension for life.

^l Antiquities of the Abbey of Westminster, vol. ii. p. 11. Annals of queen Anne, vol. vi. p. 306. London Gazette, N^o. 4397.

^m Observations on the ancient and present state of the islands of Scilly, and their importance to the trade of Great Britain, in a letter to the reverend Charles Lyttleton, L. L. D. dean of Exeter, and F. R. S. By William Borlase. M. A. F. R. S. Oxford, 1759, 4to. p. 26—28.

has given us a farther account of this matter, which the reader will be pleased to see in his own words. "Before I come to describe the ancient sepulchres of these islands," says this reverend author, "give me leave to make a small excursion from the Druid pale, and, now I am so near the spot, to carry you down to the grave of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. In a cave called Porthelic, between the Tolmens, which I have been describing to you, the body of this great sea-captain, after his shipwreck in the year 1707, was found naked, and not to be distinguished from the most ordinary sailor under his command; and here he was buried, a bank of sand offering itself very opportunely for that purpose. The nature of the place, it must be allowed, would make it doubly inhuman not to have buried him, (whoever he was), and is, therefore, the first argument Archytas makes use of to bespeak the same friendly office after a like misfortune.

" *At tu, nautæ, vage ne parce malignus arena*

" *Offibus, et capiti inhumato*

" *Particulam dare.*—

HOR. ode xxviii. lib. i.

" Stay, traveller, and let thy gen'rous breast,

" Guess the sad tale, and bear my bones to rest.

" See where, at hand, these sports of wind and wave,

" May find the with'd-for, tho' a sandy grave.

" His body was afterwards taken up, and conveyed to Westminster-abbey, and a little pit on this sandy green still shews,

—" *Pulveris exigui parva munera.*"

Ibidem.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the time of his death, was rear-admiral of England, admiral of the white, and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet, one of the council to prince George of Denmark, as lord high-admiral of England, elder brother of Trinity-house, and one of the governors of Greenwich-hospital; in all which stations he discharged his trust with the greatest honour and integrity; and as, in his public character, he was an accomplished sea-officer, one who had always the glory
of

of his queen, and the good of his country at heart; so in all circumstances of private life, as an husband, parent, or master of his family, he conducted himself with such prudence, wisdom, and tenderness, that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her majesty expressed a very particular concern for his loss, and was pleased to tell Sir John Leake, when she made him rear-admiral of England, that she knew no man so fit to repair the loss of the ablest seaman in her service^a.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel married the widow of his friend and patron, Sir John Narborough, who was the daughter of captain Hill, by whom he left two daughters, co-heiresses; Elizabeth the eldest, espoused to Robert lord Romney^b, and afterwards to John lord Carmichael, now earl of Hyndford, and who deceased at the Hague in 1750; Anne, who became the wife of the honourable Robert Mansel^c, and, upon his demise, married Robert Blackwood, Esq; of London, merchant. Lady Shovel had also three children by her first husband: John, who, while a child, was created a baronet, and James Narborough, Esq; who, as we have already mentioned, were lost in the Association, with their father-in-law; likewise a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas D'aeth, of Knowlton, in the county of Kent^d, baronet, and who departed this life in 1721. After surviving the unfortunate Sir Cloudesley twenty-five years, her ladyship deceased, March the 15th, 1732, at her house in Thrift-street, near Soho-square, having lived to a great age. It may not be improper to add to these memoirs, his monumental inscription in Westminster-abbey; since it is the only one of its kind, and stands there as a perpetual memorial of the services he rendered his country, and of the grateful sense retained by the great and glorious princess who employed him, and under whose auspicious conduct the arms of Great Britain, by sea and land, were ever victorious. Thus that inscription runs^e:

^a Burchet's naval history, p. 733. Barnet. The complete history of Europe, for 1707, p. 511. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, p. 111. Beyer's life of queen Anne, p. 304, 305.

^b Collins's peerage of England, edit. 1736, vol. v. p. 337.

^c Collins's peerage of England, edit. 1741, vol. iv. p. 273.

^d English baronetage, vol. iv. p. 184. Harris's history of Kent, p. 172.

^e Antiquities of St. Peter's, Westminster, vol. ii. p. 11, 12.

“ Sir Cloudeſſey Shovel, knt. rear-admiral of Great Britain;
 “ admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; the juſt rewards
 “ of long and faithful ſervices: he was deſervedly beloved of
 “ his country, and eſteemed, though dreaded, by the enemy;
 “ who had often experienced his conduct and courage. Being
 “ ſhipwrecked on the rocks of Scilly, in his voyage from Tou-
 “ lon, the 22d of October, 1707, at night, in the 57th year
 “ of his age.

“ His fate was lamented by all; but eſpecially the ſeaſaring
 “ part of the nation, to whom he was a worthy example. His
 “ body was flung on the ſhore, and buried with others in the
 “ ſands; but being ſoon after taken up, was placed under this
 “ monument, which his royal miſtreſs has cauſed to be erected,
 “ to commemorate his ſteady loyalty, and extraordinary vir-
 “ tues.”

MEMOIRS of SIR GEORGE ROOKE, Knt.

Vice-admiral, and Lieutenant of the Admiralty of
 England, and Lieutenant of the Fleets and Seas of
 this Kingdom, one of her Majeſty's moſt honourable
 Privy Council, &c.

IT is a thing we may reaſonably expect, and it is commonly
 found true, from experience, that ſuch perſons as riſe in-
 to high and honourable employments, by dint of merit, and are
 withal of a reſpectable deſcent, as they enjoy their fortunes with
 leſs envy, ſo they are, generally ſpeaking, more attached to the
 government and conſtitution of their country, than thoſe who,
 by a haſty riſe from a low beginning, have ſmall concern for
 thoſe eſtabliſhments from which they derive no honour; and
 are therefore more prone to changes and revolutions, in which
 men of active parts muſt be always conſiderable. This truth was
 never more manifeſt, than in the conduct of the illuſtrious perſon
 of whom we are now to ſpeak. A man, who, to hereditary ho-
 nours, added reputation founded on perſonal merit, and who
 repaid the credit derived to him from his anceſtors, by the glo-
 ry reflected from his own actions. Yet ſo modeſt withal, that
 he coveted titles as little as wealth; and after a life ſpent in no-

ble achievements, went to his grave with a moderate fortune, though he had long enjoyed such employments as enabled others to raise princely estates.

He was the son of Sir William Rooke, knt. of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Kent, where he was born, in the year 1650; his father gave him the education becoming a gentleman, in which, by the quickness of his parts, and the solidity of his judgment, he made an extraordinary progress, insomuch that Sir William Rooke had great hopes, that he would have distinguished himself in an honourable profession, for which he was intended^s. But as it frequently happens, that genius gives a bias too strong for the views even of a parent to subdue, so Sir William, after a fruitless struggle with his son George's bent to naval employment, at last gave way to his inclinations, and suffered him to make a campaign at sea.

His first station in the navy was that of volunteer, then styled a reformade, in which he distinguished himself, by his undaunted courage and indefatigable application. This quickly acquired him the post of a lieutenant, from whence he rose to that of a captain before he was thirty; a thing, in those days, thought very extraordinary, when no man, let his quality be what it would, was advanced to that station, before he had given ample, as well as incontestable testimonies, of his being able to fill it with honour. These preferments he enjoyed under the reign of Charles II. and under that of his successor, king James, he was appointed to the command of the *Deptford*, a fourth rate man of war, in which post the revolution found him^t.

Admiral Herbert distinguished him early, by sending him, in the year 1689, as commodore, with a squadron on the coast of Ireland. In this station, he heartily concurred with major-general Kirke, in the famous relief of Londonderry, assisting in person in taking the island in the Lake, which opened a passage

^s The complete history of Europe for 1709, p. 383. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 1. See the inscription on his monument. The history and antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury, by the reverend Mr. J. Dart, London, 1726, folio, p. 75, 79.

^t Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy of England, p. 164. Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, MS. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 363.

for the relief of the town^u. Soon after, he was employed in escorting the duke of Schomberg's army, and landing them safe near Carrickfergus, facilitated the siege of that place, and, after it was taken, sailed with his squadron along the coast; where he first looked into the harbour of Dublin, manned all his boats, and insulted the place where king James was in person; and, in the night of the 18th of September, he formed a design of burning all the vessels in the harbour; which he would have certainly executed, if the wind had not shifted, so as to drive him out to sea^v.

From thence he sailed to Corke, into which haven he likewise looked, though, in the apprehension of the people of Ireland, it was the best fortified port in the island; but Sir George soon convinced them of the contrary; for, notwithstanding all the fire from their batteries, he entered and took possession of the great island; and might have done more, but that his ships were so foul, that they could scarce swim; and his provisions grown so short, that he was obliged to repair to the Downs, where he arrived in the middle of October, having acquired great reputation by his activity and good service^x. In the beginning of the year 1690, he was, upon the recommendation of the earl of Torrington, appointed rear-admiral of the red^y, and, in that station, served in the fight off Beachy-head, which happened on the 30th of June the same year; and, notwithstanding the misfortune of our arms, which was indisputably the greatest we ever met with at sea, admiral Rooke was allowed to have done his duty with much resolution; and therefore the lords and others, appointed to inquire into the conduct of that affair, had orders to examine him and Sir John Ashby, who, in their accounts, justified their admiral, and shewed, that the misfortune happened by their being obliged to fight under vast disadvantages^z.

It was believed by many, that this would have been a bar to

^u Burchet's naval history, p. 417. Columna rostrata, p. 255. The complete history of Europe, for 1709, p. 384.

^v Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 7—11. Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 580. History of the wars in Ireland, chap. vi. Burchet's memoirs, p. 32.

^x Burchet's naval history, p. 421.

^y Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 41. Life of king William, p. 265.

^z Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Kennet. An impartial account of some remarkable passages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 13.

his preferment; but it proved otherwise, and he was immediately appointed to command the squadron that convoyed the king to Holland^a; and afterwards joined the grand fleet, under the command of Mr. Russel, who was then admiral of the red squadron, and commander in chief; but that year being spent without action, the French declining it, and the admiral being too wise a man to risk the fate of his predecessor, by any rash attempt, rear-admiral Rooke had no opportunity of distinguishing himself further, than by exactly obeying orders, and protecting our trade; which he did very effectually^b.

In the spring of the succeeding year, he again convoyed king William to Holland, and was then, or very soon after, promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue^c, in which station he served in the famous battle of La Hogue, on the 22d of May, 1692, in which he behaved with distinguished courage and conduct, as the relation published by admiral Russel fully shews; and it was owing to his vigorous behaviour, that the last stroke was given on that important day, which threw the French entirely into confusion, and forced them to run such hazards, in order to shelter themselves from their victorious enemies.

But the next day, which was Monday the 23d of May, was for him still much more glorious; for vice-admiral Rooke had orders to go into La Hogue, and burn the enemy's ships as they lay^d. There were thirteen large men of war, which had crowded as far up as possible, and the transports, tenders, and ships with ammunition, were disposed in such a manner, that it was thought impossible to burn them. Besides all this, the French camp was in sight, with all the French and Irish troops that were to have been employed in the invasion, and several batteries upon the coast, well supplied with heavy artillery. The vice-admiral, however, made the necessary preparations for obeying his orders, notwithstanding he saw the dispositions made on shore for his reception; but, when he came to make the attempt, he found it impossible to carry in the ships of his squa-

^a Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 612. Annals of Q. Anne, vol. viii. p. 363.

^b Burchet. The complete history of Europe for 1709. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 12—15.

^c Bryer's life of queen Anne, p. 45.

^d Burchet's memoirs, p. 145. Kennet, and other writers. The present state of Europe for the year 1692, p. 206. Columna rostrata, p. 261. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 17, 18. See admiral Russel's letter to the earl of Nottingham in vol. ii. p. 358. as also our account of this famous action.

dron; yet even this did not discourage him. He ordered his light frigates to ply in close to the shore, and, having manned out all his boats, went himself to give directions for the attack, burned that very night six three-deck ships; and the next day, being the 24th, he burnt six more from seventy-six to sixty guns, and destroyed the thirteenth, which was a ship of fifty-six guns, together with most of the transports and ammunition-vessels, and this under the fire of all those batteries I have before mentioned, in sight of the French and Irish troops; and yet, through the wise conduct of their commander, this bold enterprize cost the lives of no more than ten men. In order to have a distinct conception of the merit of this most glorious action, we need only cast our eyes on the letter written to their high mightinesses the States-General by their admiral Allemonde, who was present, and who penned this letter on the 24th, before vice-admiral Rooke went the very last time into La Hogue to burn the remaining ships and transports. It is but natural to believe the admiral gave the best account in his power to his masters; and we cannot believe he meant to flatter the English officer, since it does not appear from his letter, that he so much as knew who he was; these circumstances therefore considered, his epistle may be justly looked upon as the most authentic testimony that can be offered on this subject^c.

It

^c This letter of admiral Allemonde, was dated from on board the Prince, near
June 3,

Cape Barfleur, ——— 1692, in which letter he says:

May 24.

" I came to an anchor under this cape where I have been since yesterday
" in the afternoon with your high mightiness's squadron, and that of Sir John
" Ashby, admiral of the English blue squadron, and some other ships of their
" Britannic majesties. At which time being informed by the captain of a French
" fire-ship, who was taken prisoner, that about twelve of the ships that had fought
" against your high mightiness's squadron, and to which we had given chase,
" were got in among the rocks. I prepared to go and destroy them. But, as I
" was ready to put my design in execution, I found that admiral Russell had given
" orders to the same purpose. Pretently I offered him your high mightiness's
" light frigates and fire-ships to assist his ships, and immediately gave all neces-
" sary orders, in case he should make use of them; but, as yet, I know not
" whether those frigates or fire-ships were employed or no. All that I can assure
" your high mightiness's is, that, the same day they took a resolution to destroy
" those twelve ships, they burnt six of the biggest, being ships of three decks;
" and this day the rest that remained, the least of which carried sixty pieces of
" cannon,

It was extremely happy for Mr. Rooke, that he served a brave prince, who would not take his informations upon trust, but inquired particularly into every man's conduct before he punished or rewarded. The behaviour of the vice-admiral at La Hogue appeared to him so great, and so worthy of public notice, that, having no opportunity at that time of providing for him, he settled a pension of a thousand pounds *per annum* on him for life^f. In the spring of the year his majesty thought fit to go to Portsmouth, as king Charles II. had sometimes done, to view the fleet, and, going on board Mr. Rooke's ship then in the harbour, dined with him, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood^g, having a little before made a grand naval promotion, in which he was declared vice-admiral of the red^h; and, the direction of the fleet being now put in commission, Sir George Rooke was intrusted with the command of the squadron that was to escort the Smyrna fleet, and the joint admirals received orders to accompany him as far to sea as they should think proper; after which his instructions were, to take the best care of the fleet he could, and, in case of any misfortune, to retire into some of the Spanish ports, and put himself under the protection of their cannonⁱ.

It cannot be supposed, that Sir George Rooke had any better intelligence than the admirals or the secretaries of state, and therefore we ought to ascribe the great unwillingness he shewed to part with the grand fleet so soon, to his superior skill in naval affairs, from whence he judged, that, since the French squadron was not at Brest, it must be gone to Toulon, for which he

"cannon, ran the same fate, being burnt with all their ammunition and provision, together with the six other smaller vessels, which they had lightened of their guns, to try whether it were possible to save them by towing them any higher; so that this expedition has completed the irreparable ruin of the enemy's fleet. I understand this day, from aboard admiral Russel, that orders are given out to burn the transport-vessels that are in the bay of La Hogue, to the number of about 500, if it may be done with safety; but I fear the execution of the enterprize will be very difficult by reason of the shallowness of the water where these vessels ly, and the resistance which may be made from the land, and therefore leave the success of the design to Providence."

^f Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 19. The complete history of Europe for 1709, p. 385. ^g London Gazette, N^o. 2847. ^h London Gazette, N^o. 2843.

ⁱ Burchet's memoirs, p. 176. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 22, 23. Life of king William, p. 363, 364.

thought

thought there could scarce be a better reason assigned than their hopes of intercepting the Smyrna fleet under his convoy. However, he failed, as his orders and duty required; and on the 15th of June, being about sixty leagues short of Cape St. Vincent, he ordered the Lark to stretch a-head of his scouts into Lagos-bay; but, next day having confirmed accounts of the danger they were in, he proposed in a council of war to keep the wind, or ly by all that night, that so a discovery of the enemy's strength might be made next morning. But in this he was over-ruled, and it was urged that the wind being fresh northerly, it gave the fleet a fair opportunity of pushing for Cadiz; pursuant to this resolution, the admiral ran along the shore all night with a press sail, and forced several of the enemy's ships to cut from their anchors in Lagos-bay^k.

The next day, when he was with his fleet off Villa Nova, it fell calm, and, a little after day-break, ten sail of the enemy's men of war, and several small ships, were seen in the offing. The French no sooner discovered Sir George Rooke, than they stood away with their boats a-head, setting fire to some, and sinking others of their small craft, which yet did not hinder several of them from falling into our hands, as a fire-ship likewise did, by dropping into the fleet in the night. The crew of this ship, being carried on board the flag-ship, and examined by the admiral, told him a very plausible tale, viz. That the French Squadron consisted but of fifteen ships of the line, notwithstanding there were three flags, and had with them forty-six merchantmen and store-ships, that were bound either to Toulon, or to join M. d'Estrees^l. They said also, that the Squadron had been becalmed off the cape, and that, having watered in the bay, they were bound directly into the Straits, without any intention of seeing our fleet,

^k The French fleet under marshal Tourville had waited some time for the English Smyrna fleet; they had certainly very early and very exact intelligence, which is much less to be wondered at, than that this fleet of French men of war should remain a month on the Spanish coast, without our having any timely notice of it; and in reality this was the very point upon which the house of commons grounded their vote of treachery.

^l Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 115. Columna rostrata, p. 262. The complete history of Europe for 1709, p. 386. Burchet's naval history. London Gazette, N^o. 2888.

This at first, with the hasty retreat of their men of war in the morning, and their deserting and burning their small vessels, gained a perfect belief with the admiral and the rest of the officers; but afterwards it was judged, (and with reason too), that this precipitate retreat was purposely to amuse us, and thereby draw the whole squadron insensibly in to the enemy. About noon the sea breeze sprung up to W. N. W. and N. W. and then the admiral bore away along shore upon the enemy, discovering their strength the more the nearer he came to them, and at last counted about eighty sail; but the number with which they plyed up to him was not above sixteen, with three flags, the admiral, vice-admiral of the blue, and rear-admiral of the white. The vice-admiral of the blue stood off to sea, in order to weather our squadron, and fall in with the merchant-ships, whilst the body of their fleet lay promiscuously to leeward one of another as far as they could be seen, especially their biggest ships.

About three in the afternoon the Dutch vice-admiral sent Sir George Rooke advice, that he was now perfectly sensible of the fraud, as discovering plainly the enemy's whole fleet; but that, in his judgment, the best course that could be taken was, by all means to avoid fighting. Sir George differed with him in that point, and had actually disposed all things for engaging the enemy; but reflecting that he should take upon himself the whole blame of this affair, if he fought contrary to the Dutch admiral's sentiments, he brought to, and then stood off with an easy sail, and at the same time dispatched the Sheernests, with orders to the small ships, that were on the coast, to endeavour to get along shore in the night, and save themselves in the Spanish ports; which advice, as it was seasonably suggested, so it was happily pursued, no less than fifty getting into the port of Cadiz only^m.

^m The first account we had of this unlucky business was by a letter from captain Littleton, commander of the Factor of Smyrna, which, I take it, was an hired man of war, that is, a merchantman turned into a man of war to strengthen the convoy. His letter gave the merchants some consolation, because he not only assured them, that his own, and between forty and fifty more ships, were safe at Cadiz, but that the admiral was escaped, and had carried off a great part of the fleet with him, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the enemy.

I have already given so large an account of this affair ^q, as well from foreign writers as our own, that I think it needless to say more here, except as to the personal conduct of the vice-admiral. His whole squadron consisted of no more than twenty-three ships of war; of these thirteen only were English, eight Dutch, and two Hamburgers. The fleet of merchantmen under his convoy was composed of four hundred sail of all nations, though the greater part of them were English ships ^r. The fleet under M. Tourville consisted of one hundred and twenty sail, of which sixty-four were of the line, and eighteen three-deck ships; yet Sir George Rooke saved all the men of war; for he brought twelve of them to King'sale, and the other got into Cadiz; and he likewise brought back with him sixty merchantmen, and, having sent the Lark with advice of his misfortune, he afterwards proceeded from King'sale, with the largest ships, to join the grand fleet ^p.

One thing, indeed, is very remarkable with respect to this singular transaction, viz. That, while in France the people in general charged their admirals with not making the most of their advantage, and the admirals themselves charged each other with want of conduct, and neglect of duty, there was not so much as a single reflection made upon Sir George Rooke's behaviour; but, on the contrary, he was said in the Dutch gazettes to have gained more reputation by his escape, than accrued to the French by their conquest. On his return home the merchants gave him their thanks; the king promoted him from being vice-admiral of the blue to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and soon after, as a farther mark of his favour and confidence, made him one of the lords-commissioners of the admiralty ^q; and, before the close of the year 1694, promoted him again from vice-admiral of the red to admiral of the blue ^r.

In

^a See vol. ii. of this work, p. 378—388.

^b Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 637. The present state of Europe for the month of July, 1693. Life of Sir George Rooke.

^c Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 216. Oldmixon. The complete history of Europe for 1709, p. 387, 378.

^d Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 42. Life of K. William, p. 375.

^e We must not imagine, however, that Sir George escaped all trouble in this affair; on the contrary, he was examined at the bar of the house of commons,

and that very strictly, though he was so very ill that he could scarce stand upon

In the month of May, 1695, admiral Rooke commanded the squadron which convoyed the king to Holland^a; and in the autumn of the same year, being then admiral of the white, he was also appointed admiral and commander in chief in the Mediterranean, having a fleet of seventy men of war and merchant-ships under his care; and, having very successfully executed this commission, he remained several months in the Mediterranean with a very small force, where, nevertheless, he made a shift to preserve our trade from the insults of the enemy; and at length, receiving orders to return, he executed them with so much prudence, that he arrived safely on the English coast on the 22d of April, 1696, to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation in general, which was much alarmed, from an apprehension, that the French fleet at Toulon should come up with him, to which he was much inferior in strength^b.

Soon after his arrival, he took upon him the command of the fleet, had orders to proceed to the Soundings^c, and to lie in such a station, as he should judge most proper for preventing the French fleet from getting into any port of France; but receiving intelligence, that the Toulon squadron was got safe into Brest, and the largest ships in the fleet being very foul, he thought fit to return, agreeable to his instructions, and put into Torbay^d.

his feet; and, therefore, was at last allowed a chair. He said, that when he parted from the grand fleet, he had a very brisk gale of wind, which drove him directly upon the enemy, and retarded the advice-boats that were sent after him, with intelligence and orders to return. He said further, that if his opinion had not been over-ruled, he might very probably have passed the enemy in the night, and then a few only of the heaviest sailers could have fallen into their hands. Yet, he added, that he did not suspect he was over-ruled by the majority of votes in the council of war, from any bad design, or want of zeal in the commanders; but from their not giving credit to his suspicion, that it was the whole French fleet in Lagos-bay; and for any squadron they were not afraid of them.

^a Kennet's history of England, vol. iii. p. 687. The present state of Europe, for 1695, p. 177. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 45. ^b Burchet's naval history, book iv. chap. xv. The complete history of Europe for 1709. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 43. London Gazette, N^o. 3178.

^c Burchet's memoirs, p. 332. The present state of Europe, for 1696, p. 168. London Gazette, N^o. 3182.

^d London Gazette, N^o. 3186, 3187.

There

There the fleet being reinforced to eighty-five sail of the line, Sir George Rooke formed the glorious project of burning the whole French fleet, or forcing them to take shelter in the harbour of Brest, while we bombarded all the adjacent coasts; but, while he was meditating this great design, he unexpectedly received orders to return to London, and attend his duty at the Board²; yet, so desirous he was of being in action, and so thoroughly persuaded of the possibility of the thing, that, upon his coming to town, he proposed the matter to the duke of Shrewsbury, who approved it, but found it requisite to lay his project before the privy council, where it was considered, till the season for putting it in execution was intirely over, and then declared a very prudent, well-concerted measure, and another admiral blamed for not doing what he would willingly have done; but that the captains of the fleet were unanimously of opinion, that it was too late in the year to think of attempting an expedition of such importance¹.

Admiral Russel, in the spring of the year 1697, being declared earl of Orford, and placed at the head of the admiralty, with a kind of absolute command, his presence was thought so necessary there, that Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet², which put to sea in a very indifferent condition, being but half manned, and scarce half victualled, towards the latter end of June; as the French avoided fighting, Sir George found it impossible to do any thing very considerable; and yet this summer's expedition gained him no small reputation, and that from an action, bold in itself, but withal strictly just, and very beneficial to the nation. For as he was cruising off the French coast, he met with a large fleet of Swedish merchantmen, and having obliged them to bring to, and submit to be searched, he found just grounds to believe, that

¹ London Gazette, N^o. 3190.

² The reader will find this project of Sir George Rooke's, and a large account of that affair, by turning to the naval operations of the year in which it happened, in our former volume; and from thence he will easily collect, that Sir George Rooke was cautious only, when he wanted a proper strength, and that no admiral was more active or vigorous than he, whenever such a force was under his command.

³ London Gazette, N^o. 3188, 3195.

their cargoes belonged most of them to French merchants; upon which he sent them, under the convoy of some frigates, into Plymouth. This made a great noise, the Swedish minister interposed, and some of our statesmen were inclined to disapprove Sir George's conduct^a.

But as he was a man not apt to take rash steps, and consequently seldom in the wrong, he was not of a temper to be frightened from his duty, or to be brought to desist from any

^a We have the whole of this matter set in a clear light, in a small quarto pamphlet of two sheets, intitled, A short account of the true state of the case of the Swedish merchant-fleet, lately brought up on their voyage from France, by admiral Rooke, and sent into Plymouth.

The account given in this pamphlet, of the fraud, runs thus: "The Swede did build a ship, of more or less tons, on his own account; whereupon he could safely make oath before the magistrate, that the same ship was his own, and did really belong to him, and was built at his proper costs and charges; and thereupon he obtained a pass for the said ship, as being a Swedish ship, built in Swedeland, and belonging to one of that king's subjects. This being done, the Swede sold and transported the very same ship to a Dutch, Lubek, or Hamburgh merchant; who, in consideration of the other service, did give him one quarter, or eighth part, (as they could best agree upon) in the said ship, on condition, that the Swede should always provide new passes as often as there should be occasion for them; and that the said ship should always go under the Swede's name, and by that means traffic unmolested to, and with France; which practice the Swede flattered himself that he might securely enough continue, without acting thereby against his conscience, or committing the least perjury by so doing; there being no occasion, according to the custom and laws of that country, to make oath afresh for every other voyage, for getting of new passes, because the first oath sufficed for good and all. So that, by this mental reservation, the Swede could obtain as many passes as he pleased, and for all that, his conscience not concerned in the least thereby. Nay, by the proofs made against the said Swedish fleet, taken from their own hand-writings, books, and letters, now under examination in the court of admiralty, it does manifestly appear, that, to take off all suspicion, and to obviate all objections and dangers that might befall such a ship, the foreign merchant ordered the Swede to make a bill of sale of the ship, in the Swede's own name, though he had not the least right to the said ship, nor did any part therein belong to him. Another artifice has also been used, the more easily to obtain the passes in Stockholm, viz. Some of those foreign merchants sent their servants thither to be made burghers, *pro forma*; and by this means they procured the passes, although such servant had neither estate nor money for himself, but was supplied by his master, who lived either in Holland, at Lubek, or at Hamburgh, or elsewhere, upon whose account this glorious trade was carried on."

thing

thing he took to be right. Sir George therefore insisted, that the matter should be brought to a fair trial, before the court of admiralty: where, upon the clearest evidence, it plainly appeared, that these Swedish ships were freighted by French merchants, partly with French goods, but chiefly with Indian merchandize, which had been taken out of English and Dutch ships; and that the Swedes had no further concern therein, than as they received 2 *per cent.* by way of gratification, for lending their names, procuring passes, and taking other necessary precautions for screening the French merchants effects; so that the whole of this rich fleet was adjudged to be good prize: and the clamour that had been raised against Sir George Rooke, was converted into general applause ^b!

He was again ordered to sea, though it was very late in the year, and continued on the French coasts till towards the month of October, making such detachments as were necessary for securing our own homeward-bound trade, and that of the Dutch; which he performed very successfully, as the gazettes of that nation gratefully acknowledge; and the campaign and the war ending together, he gave the necessary orders for laying up the

^b We may easily guess at the evidence upon which these ships were declared lawful prize, from the following letter of instruction, written by a French merchant, to John Conrad Doberik, dated July 16, 1696.

"I thank you, that you will help Martin Francen. I have bought a fly-boat here, of 230 tons, for a good friend, and would gladly let her sail under your name, on condition that you should have a certain profit for it; and assuring myself, that you will not refuse me, seeing it can be done without prejudice to you. I have caused the bill of sale to be made in your name, viz. That I have bought the said ship for your account and adventure. Now, I would fain have a skipper come from Stockholm, who is a burgher there, and I judge it to be necessary, 1st, That a notary's bill of sale be sent over, 2dly, That a declaration be made before a notary, and witnesses, that the said ship doth belong to you. 3dly, That you write a letter to the magistrate of Stockholm, to grant you to pass; and 4thly, To write a letter to Mr. Conrad, to send such a master with a pass, with order to follow my direction whilst you are in Spain. When you come hither, we shall agree what you shall have for each pass that you shall send for here. The declaration before a notary I shall send you to sign, and the witnesses who subscribe shall be Luke Williamson, Marcus Begman, and the broker; they not knowing otherwise, but that I bought the ship for your account; in this manner, no pass can be denied, and when once a pass is taken out, one may always be had, &c."

great

great ships, and then returned to town, where he was received with equal satisfaction by all parties; having as yet done little to disoblige those who afterwards persecuted him with the utmost rancour.

This violent resentment was chiefly owing to his conduct in parliament; for being next year elected member for Portsmouth^c, and voting mostly with those that were called Tories, great pains were taken to ruin him in the king's opinion; but, to the immortal honour of king William, when pressed to remove Sir George Rooke from his seat at the admiralty-board, he answered plainly, I WILL NOT. "Sir George Rooke" (continued his majesty,) served me faithfully at sea, and I will "never displace him, for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country in the house of commons." An answer truly worthy of a British prince, as it tends to preserve the freedom of our constitution, and what is essential thereto, the liberty of parliament. The whole year 1699 was spent in peace, so that Sir George Rooke had leisure to attend his duty in the house; which he did with very great constancy, and behaved there as he thought became him; but was very rarely a speaker, though not at all deficient in that particular, as appeared, when he was heard at the bar, on the business of the Smyrna fleet in 1693. But in the spring of the year 1700, a war broke out in the north, which had like to have totally overturned the balance of power in that part of Europe, through a shameful confederacy, formed against Charles XII. of Sweden, then in a manner a child, which moved king William to send a fleet thither to his assistance; which was undoubtedly the wisest foreign measure in that whole reign; and, as it was well concerted, so it was very prudently and happily executed; for Sir George Rooke, who was entrusted with the command of the combined fleet of the maritime powers, did their business effectually, by succouring the Swedes, without oppressing the Danes; as I have shewn in its proper place, and have remarked, that the king of Sweden, upon this occasion, gave a noble instance of his early genius, by

^c The complete history of Europe for 1709, p. 389. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 62. Parliamentary register, p. 197.

penetrating Sir George Rooke's orders, from the consideration of his conduct ^d.

Sir George Rooke was elected in the new parliament of 1701, for the town of Portsmouth; which was not then considered in that light in which navy boroughs have since stood; if it had, they would have obliged the court in their members. Bishop Burnet tells us, that though the ministry had a clear majority, in whatever related to the king's business, yet the activity of the angry side was such, that they had a majority in choosing the speaker, and in determining controverted elections ^e. The truth of the matter was, the ministry persuaded the king to abet the interest of Sir Thomas Littleton, against Robert Harley, Esq; afterwards the famous earl of Oxford; and with this view his majesty spoke to Sir George Rooke, Sir Charles Hedges, and several other persons of distinction, in favour of Sir Thomas; which however had not the desired effect, since they voted for Mr. Harley, who was accordingly placed in the chair. I mention this, to shew the steadiness of Sir George Rooke, and to prove, that he was a man who acted upon principle, and was not governed in his political conduct either by hopes or fears ^f.

Yet Sir George was for the war against France, and for carrying it on vigorously; and, as I shall shew hereafter, he was uniform in his conduct, though he had the misfortune to be censured for want of vigour, merely because he shewed too strong an inclination that way. I do not say this from any liking I have to the maintaining paradoxes, or playing with words; but because I take it to be the fair truth, and that I could not express it otherwise, without doing his memory injustice ^g.

^d Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 63. The complete history of Europe for 1709. p. 389. See vol. iii. p. 253, 256.

^e Parliamentary register, p. 197. History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 295.

^f It was certainly wrong in the king to interfere in this matter at all, because he ran too great a risk, in case of a disappointment; and experience will always shew, that in the end such princes are safest, and most happy, as suffer the machine of government to roll on, according to its natural construction, without tampering at all; which serves only to spoil it, and expose them extremely.

^g The reader, if he consults Burnet's history, and compares it with Oldmixon's, will be convinced of the truth of what I say.

Upon the accession of queen Anne, in 1702, Sir George was constituted vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, as also lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom^b; and, upon the declaration of war against France, it was resolved, that Sir George Rooke should command the grand fleet sent against Cadiz, his grace the duke of Ormond having the command in chief of the land forcesⁱ. I shall not enter into the history of that expedition, because I have already given the best account of it that was in my power^k: I shall only say here, that when it appeared to be a thing very difficult, if not impracticable, for the land-forces to make themselves masters of the place, Sir George Rooke proposed bombarding it; which occasioned a long representation from the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, setting forth, that such a proceeding would entirely alienate the affection of the Spaniards from the house of Austria; and as Sir George could not but discern the inconsistency of this method with the manifesto which had been published in the duke of Ormond's name and his own, he was prevailed upon to desist; and when he had done this, he judged it best to return home both with the fleet and army; the land and sea-officers unanimously concurring, in that respect, with him in opinion; excepting only the duke of Ormond, and baron Sparr, who protested against it. Upon this opinion, for returning home, the charge was founded against him, for want of vigour, whereas nothing can be more clear, than that Sir George inclined to act more vigorously than his instructions would permit; and therefore when he saw that proposal rejected, and that nothing could be done abroad, thought it the wisest way to come home. Of this he was certainly the best judge, since he had been often in those parts before, and knew very well, if once the Spaniards took a resolution, fair words would not go far towards making them alter it^l.

^b London Gazette, N^o. 3810.

ⁱ The duke of Ormond had been appointed commander in chief of the land-forces, in the month preceding. London Gazette, N^o. 3803.

^k See vol. iii. p. 9.

^l Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. x. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 229. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 330. The complete history of Europe, for 1702. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 63—100. Boyer's life of queen Anne.

On the 19th of September, 1702, the fleet sailed^m, and had for several days a fair but very gentle wind; and, in their passage home, the admiral on the 6th of October received an account from captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the escort of a strong French Squadron, were got into the harbour of Vigo; upon which Sir George resolved to attack them; and, having declared this resolution the next day in a council of flag-officers, they concurred with him, and it was unanimously resolved to put it in execution; accordingly the fleet sailed for Vigo, and on the 11th of October came before the harbour of Rodondello, where the French commodore, to do him justice, had neglected nothing that was necessary for putting the place into the best posture of defence possible, which, however, did not signify much; for a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war of the line of battle, and all the fire-ships, were ordered in, the frigates and bomb-vessels were to follow the rear of the detachment, and the great ships were to move after them, while the army was to land near Rodondello. The whole service was performed under Sir George's directions with admirable conduct and bravery, all the ships destroyed or taken, prodigious damage done to the enemy, and immense wealth acquired by the allies. Afterwards the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, though he was much indisposed with the gout, congratulated each other on this glorious success, and then continued their voyage home, arriving safely in the Downs on the 7th of November; and the admiral soon after came up to Londonⁿ.

While the fleet and army were thus employed abroad, her majesty had thought fit, from the advice of her ministers, to call a new parliament at home, to meet on the 20th of October; of which parliament Sir George was, in his absence, chosen a member for Portsmouth; and, as soon as he came to take his seat in the house, the speaker was directed, in the name of the com-

^m Burchet's naval history, p. 315. London Gazette, N^o. 3850, 3858.

ⁿ Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 352. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 292. Burchet's naval history, p. 615. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 363, 364. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 101. London Gazette, N^o. 3858, 3860.

mons of England, to return him thanks ; which he did in the following terms^o :

“ SIR GEORGE ROOKE,

“ You are now returned to this house after a most glorious expedition : her majesty began her reign with a declaration, that her heart was truly English ; and Heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England : for this thanks hath been returned in a most solemn manner to almighty God. There remains yet a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so wonderful a victory, (the duke of Ormond and yourself, who had the command of the sea and land forces). In former times admirals and generals have had success against France and Spain separately, but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together ; you have not only spoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country ; common victories bring terrors to the conquered ; but you brought destruction upon them, and additional strength to England.

“ France hath endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India ; your success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and stripped them of the assistance of it. The wealth of Spain and ships of France are by this victory brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequence, that, as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit.

“ No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written, in remarkable characters, in the black list of those who have taken French gold ; and it is justice done to the duke of Ormond, and your merit, that should stand recorded in the registers of this house, as the sole instrument of this glorious victory ; therefore this house came to the following resolution :

“ Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, for the great and signal service performed by them, for the nation, at sea and land ; which thanks I now return you.”

^o The complete history of Europe for the year 1702, p. 448. Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 244. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 116.

To this Sir George Rooke answered :

“ MR. SPEAKER,

“ I am now under great difficulty how to express myself on this very great occasion : I think myself very happy, that, in zeal and duty to yourself, it hath been my good fortune to be the instrument of that which may deserve your notice, and much more the return of your thanks.

“ I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and shall take all the care I can to preserve it to my grave, and convey it to my posterity, without spot or blemish, by a constant affection, and zealous perseverance in the queen's and your service. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will ; and though I may not always be successful in your service, as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure, I shall never be more faulty.

“ I must repeat my inability to express myself upon this occasion ; but, as I have a due sense of the honour this house hath been pleased to do me, I shall always retain a due and grateful memory of it. And, though my duty and allegiance are strong obligations upon me to do my best in the service of my country, I shall always take this as a particular tie upon me to do right and justice to your service upon all occasions.”

But, notwithstanding the queen's having celebrated this action by a day of thanksgiving^p, that her example had been imitated by the States-General^q, this thanks of the house of commons, and the queen's giving a seat to Sir George Rooke in the privy-council^r, it was resolved to inquire into his conduct in the house of lords, the reason of which is very candidly given by bishop Burnet^s ; he tells us, that the duke of Ormond was extremely angry with Sir George Rooke, had complained loudly of his behaviour at Cadiz, upon his return home ; and though he was afterwards softened, that is, in the bishop's opinion, by being made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and so willing to drop his complaint, yet he had spoken of the matter to so many lords, that it

^p London Gazette, No. 3859, 3861.

^q London Gazette, No. 3866.

^r London Gazette, No. 5864.

^s History of his own times, vol. ii. p. 347.

was impossible to avoid an inquiry, though he might not then desire it.

A committee was accordingly appointed by the house of lords to examine into the whole affair; and they did it very effectually, not only by considering the instructions and other papers relating to the Cadiz expedition, but by sending for Sir George Rooke, and the principal sea and land officers, all of whom were very strictly examined. In his defence the bishop admits, that Sir George arraigned his instructions very freely, and took very little care of a ministry, which, according to this prelate's account, took so much care of him.

The truth of the matter was, Sir George set the whole affair in its proper light. He shewed that, throughout the whole expedition, the enemy had great advantages: for, if it was considered on the peaceable side, they had a king of Spain, called to the succession by the will of the last king, and acknowledged by the best part of the nation; whereas the allies had not then set up any other king, but invited the Spaniards, in general terms, to support the interest of the house of Austria, which was very inconsistent with the temper and genius of a nation always distinguished for their loyalty: that, on the side of war, the instructions seemed to contradict themselves; for, whereas they were impowered to use hostilities, the declaration promised peace and protection; that, consequently, whoever executed these instructions, would be liable either to a charge of shewing too much pity and concern for those people, or of not acting vigorously in the support of the common cause; and Sir George observed, that, by endeavouring to avoid giving grounds for either, he had drawn upon himself both these charges.

For, whereas he inclined to gentle methods when they first came before the place, the construction given to this was, that he intended only to amuse and make a shew, but that, finding this indulgence had no effect, and that, after the outrages committed at Port St. Maries, there was nothing to be hoped for from the Spaniards, he proposed bombarding the place; which must have succeeded, but that the prince of Hesse Darmstadt

* See the declaration published by the duke of Ormond at his first coming on the Spanish coast, dated the 21st of Aug. N. S. in the London Gazette, N^o. 324. The complete history of Europe for 1702, p. 216.

protested against this, as an action that would alienate the people entirely from the interest of the house of Austria; he then thought that, as fair means would do nothing, and force was not to be tried, the only measure left was to return home. The committee made their report, and the house passed a vote, which fully justified Sir George Rooke's conduct, the duke thinking it proper to be absent upon that occasion^u.

In the year 1703 Sir George Rooke was again at sea, but waited so long for the Dutch, that the scheme, which was a very good one, and entirely of his own projecting, became impracticable; and as he was restrained from sailing, when he desired, by orders from the lord high-admiral, so he had orders for sailing, when he thought the proper time was past; which, however, he obeyed, and continued for about a month upon the French coasts; and, having greatly alarmed them, returned back with the fleet, having done less, indeed, than he could have wished, but not less than might have been expected from a fleet in such a condition as his was, sailing so late in the year^v. His enemies indeed said then, as they said often, that he intended to do nothing; which can scarce be believed, since he was extremely ill when he took the command upon him; growing worse, desired to resign it^x; but afterwards, finding himself better, put to sea^y. This certainly looked as if he had the expedition much at heart; for, though some men trifle with the affairs of their country, yet certainly no man, who had common sense, ever played the fool with his own health and safety^z.

^u The most natural account of the duke's behaviour is, that when he saw the unreasonableness of his own heat, and the justice of the admiral's sentiments, clearly made out, he was ashamed of the trouble he had given the house, and, as a man of honour, retired, that his presence might not put any of his friends under difficulties. It must be likewise observed, that the house of lords was not at all disposed to favour Rooke's party, but rather the contrary, as appears by the whole proceedings of that session; so that nothing can be more partial than to ascribe this vote to partiality.

^v Burchet's naval history, book v. ch. 13. The complete history of Europe for 1703. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 119. London Gazette, N^o. 3906, 3907, 3911.

^x London Gazette, N^o. 3912.

^y London Gazette, N^o. 3914.

^z London Gazette, N^o. 3917, 3923. See vol. iii. p. 38, 39.

On his return Sir George had a severe fit of the gout, which obliged him to go down to Bath^a; and then it was given out, that he did this because he was laid aside. But the contrary very speedily appeared; party-measures were not yet so strongly supported as to produce any event like this, and therefore, upon his coming to town again, Sir George was as well received at court as ever, stood in the same light with his royal highness the lord high-admiral, and was soon after employed in a station worthy of his character, and of the high posts he had already filled^b.

A resolution having been taken by the British ministry to send over king Charles III. of Spain on board our fleet, in the spring of the year 1704, choice was made of Sir George Rooke to command the ships of war employed for that purpose; and he shewed himself extremely active and vigilant in this service^c. He was at Portsmouth in the beginning of the month of February, where he did every thing that could be expected from him to hasten the expedition; but finding that the Dutch were backward in sending the ships that were to have joined the fleet, and that the king was extremely eager to be gone, he very generously made a proposal for the furtherance of that design; which shews him to have been as hearty towards the common cause as any admiral then living; for he offered to proceed with his Catholic majesty, without waiting for the Dutch, if he could have assurance given him, that he should have proper assistance sent after him to Lisbon; and this assurance, upon which he insisted, was nothing more than putting Sir Cloudesley Shovel at the head of that reinforcement.

^a Sir George returned to St. Helen's on the 22d of June with the fleet. *London Gazette*, No. 3925. Burchet's naval history, p. 645.

^b I have already given a full account of this matter, and therefore it is unnecessary to detain the reader long upon it here. I cannot, however, help intimating, that there seems to have been some secret at the bottom of this undertaking, with which, hitherto, the world is not thoroughly acquainted, and therefore cannot so perfectly judge of the admiral's conduct; it may be, posterity will obtain, from memoirs not hitherto published, an exact detail of the management of the war in Spain, which would bring many singular passages to light.

^c Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 354. O'ldmixon. *Boyer's life of Queen Anne*.

This proposition was accepted, and Sir George sailed on the 12th of February^d, from St. Helen's, and continued his voyage so happily to Lisbon, that he arrived there safely on the 25th; the king of Spain expressing the highest satisfaction in respect to the admiral, and the zeal and diligence he had shewn in his service^e. That this proceeded entirely from sentiments of public spirit, and not from any views of ingratiating himself with that monarch, or any other foreign prince, is evident from Sir George's refusing to gratify the kings of Spain and Portugal, in a point of ceremony which he thought injurious to the honour of the British flag, of which we have given a large account in the former part of this volume; and yet neither of the kings took this at all amiss, but treated him with the same regard and esteem as before^f.

When the expedition against Barcelona was first set on foot, Sir George Rooke immediately concurred to the utmost of his power, and the fleet arrived safely before that city in the beginning of May; the troops on board were, with great difficulty, made up two thousand men, by volunteers from the fleet; and yet, with this handful of forces, the place might possibly have been taken, if the partizans of the house of Austria, instead of holding private consultations, had ventured upon some vigorous resolution, and executed it immediately^g; but they met so often, and to so little purpose, that king Philip's viceroy discovered the design, and arrested the persons who were at the head of it; which frustrated the whole affair, and engaged even the

^d Berchét's naval history, book v. chap. xvi. Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3993.

^e That prince presented Sir George Rooke with a sword, the hilt of which was set with diamonds; a buckle for a hatband, adorned in like manner, and also a button and loop. He gave captain Wihart his picture set with diamonds, and two hundred guineas. One hundred guineas to Sir George Rooke's secretary, and various other presents to the rest of the officers.

^f See vol. iii. p. 59.

^g Here something might have been done, if there had been a sufficient number of land forces; for the people were enough inclined to revolt, if they had not been deterred by their fears. My Spanish author paints this finely; the malecontents, says he, durst not join so small a body of troops, and so (*permaneció mayormente fiel la provincia*) the province remained loyal, with the best will in the world to have acted otherwise.

gallant and enterprizing prince of Hesse Darmstadt, to desire the admiral to re-embark the troops, which he accordingly did^b.

The attempt on Barcelona having thus miscarried, the admiral, though not joined by the reinforcement from England, chased the Breſt Squadron into Toulon; and having afterwards paſſed through the Streights-mouth, joined Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, off Lagos; and continued cruizing for about a month, in expectation of orders from home, or from the court of Spain. On the 17th of July, being in the road of Tetuan, a council of war was called, in which ſeveral ſchemes were examined, but were all found to be impracticable; at laſt, Sir George Rooke propoſed the attacking of Gibraltar, which was agreed to, and immediately put in execution; for, the fleet arriving there on the 21ſt of the ſame month, the troops, which were but eighteen hundred men, were landed the ſame day; the admiral gave the ſignal for cannonading the place on the 22d, and, by the glorious courage of the Engliſh ſeamen, the place was taken on the 24th, as the reader will ſee by Sir George Rooke's own account, which

^b Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 670, 675, 676. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 388. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1704, p. 283. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 123. London Gazette, N^o. 4018, 4035.

¹ This is to be found in the London Gazette, N^o. 4045, and whoever conſiders the conſequence of this action, and compares it with the modeſty of Sir George Rooke's expreſſions, will need no other character of the man.

" The 17th of July, the fleet being then about ſeven leagues to the eaſtward
" of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the Royal Catherine, where-
" in it was reſolved to make a ſudden attempt upon Gibraltar; and accord-
" ingly the fleet ſailed thither, and the 21ſt got into that bay; and, at three
" o'clock in the afternoon, the marines, Engliſh and Dutch, to the number
" of 1800, with the prince of Heſſe at the head of them, were put on ſhore
" on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any commu-
" nication with the country. His highneſs having poſted his men there, ſent
" a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender the place, for the ſervice of his
" Catholick majeſty; which he reſected with great obſtinacy; the admiral, on
" the 22d in the morning, gave orders that the ſhips which had been appoint-
" ed to cannonade the town, under the command of rear-admiral Byng, and
" ſcar-admiral Vanderduſſen, as alſo thoſe which were to batter the ſouth
" mole head, commanded by captain Hicks of the Yarmouth, ſhould range
" themſelves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not
" poſſibly

which we have placed at the bottom of the page. After this remarkable service, the Dutch admiral thought of nothing but returning home, and actually detached six men of war to Lisbon; so little appearance was there of any engagement.

But,

“ possibly get into their places, till the day was spent. In the mean time, to
 “ amuse the enemy, captain Whitaker was sent with some boats, who burnt a
 “ French privateer of twelve guns at the mole. The 23d, soon after break of
 “ day, the ships being all placed, the admiral gave the signal for beginning
 “ the cannonade: which was performed with very great fury, above 15,000
 “ shot being made in five or six hours time against the town, insomuch that
 “ the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the south mole-
 “ head: whereupon the admiral, considering that by gaining the fortification
 “ they should of consequence reduce the town, ordered captain Whitaker,
 “ with all the boats, armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it; which was
 “ performed with great expedition. But captain Hicks, and captain Jumper,
 “ who lay next the mole, had pushed ashore with their pinnaces, and some
 “ other boats, before the rest could come up; whereupon the enemy sprung a
 “ mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the mole, killed two lieutenants,
 “ and about forty men, and wounded about sixty. However, our men kept
 “ possession of the great platform which they had made themselves masters of,
 “ and captain Whitaker landed with the rest of the seamen which had been
 “ ordered upon this service; they advanced, and took a redoubt, or small
 “ bastion, half way between the mole and the town, and possessed themselves
 “ of many of the enemy’s cannon. The admiral then sent a letter to the go-
 “ vernor, and at the same time a message to the prince of Hesse to send to him a
 “ peremptory summons; which his highness did accordingly; and on the 24th
 “ in the morning, the governor desiring to capitulate, hostages were exchanged,
 “ and the capitulation being concluded, the prince marched into the town in the
 “ evening, and took possession of the land and north-molegates, and the out-works.
 “ The articles are in substance as follow :

I. That the garrison, officers and soldiers, may depart, with their necessary arms and baggage; and the officers and other gentlemen of the town may also carry their horses with them; they may likewise have what boats they shall have occasion for.

II. That they may take out of the garrison three pieces of brass cannon, of different weight, with twelve charges of powder and ball.

III. That they may take provisions of bread, wine, and flesh, for six days march.

IV. That none of the officers baggage be searched, although it be carried out in chests or trunks. That the garrison depart in three days; and such of their necessaries as they cannot carry out with convenience, may remain in the garrison, and be afterwards sent for; and that they shall have the liberty to make use of some carts.

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3 F

V. That

But, on the 9th of August, the French fleet, under the command of the count de Thoulouse, was first seen at sea, and appeared to be by much the strongest that had been equipped during this whole war; the English admiral, however, resolved to do all that lay in his power to force an engagement. I have already given a fair account² of the battle which followed off Malaga, and also the relation published by the French court; but I purposely reserved Sir George Rooke's own account, as published by authority, for this place, to which, indeed, it properly belongs. It was dated from on board the Royal Katherine, off Cape St. Vincent, August 27, O. S. 1704, and addressed to his royal highness prince George of Denmark¹. It runs thus:

" On the 9th instant, returning from watering our ships on
 " the coast of Barbary, to Gibraltar, with little wind easterly,
 " our scouts to the windward made the signals of seeing the
 " enemy's fleet; which, according to the account they gave,
 " consisted of sixty-six sail, and were about ten leagues to
 " windward of us. A council of flag-officers was called,
 " wherein it was determined to lie to the eastward of Gibral-
 " tar, to receive and engage them. But perceiving that night,
 " by the report of their signal guns, that they wrought from

V. That such inhabitants, and soldiers, and officers of the town, as are willing to remain there, shall have the same privileges they enjoyed in the time of Charles II. and their religion and tribunals shall remain untouched, upon condition that they take an oath of fidelity to king Charles III. as their lawful king and master.

VI. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder, and other ammunition, or provisions and arms, that may be in the city.

VII. That all the French, and subjects of the French king, are excluded from any part of these capitulations, and all their effects shall remain at our disposal, and their persons prisoners of war.

" The town is extremely strong, and had an hundred guns mounted, all
 " facing the sea, and the two narrow passes to the land, and was well supplied
 " with ammunition. The officers, who have viewed the fortifications, affirm,
 " there never was such an attack as the seamen made; for that fifty men might
 " have defended those works against thousands. Ever since our coming to the bay,
 " great numbers of Spaniards have appeared on the hills; but none of them have
 " thought fit to advance towards us."

² See vol. iii. p. 67.

¹ See the Lond. Gas. N^o. 4054.

“ us, we followed them in the morning, with all the sail we
“ could make.

“ On the 11th, we forced one of the enemy's ships ashore,
“ near Fuengorolo; the crew quitted her, set her on fire, and
“ she blew up immediately. We continued still pursuing them;
“ and the 12th, not hearing any of their guns all night, nor
“ seeing any of their scouts in the morning, our admiral had a
“ jealousy they might make a double, and, by the help of
“ their gallies, slip between us and the shore to the westward;
“ so that a council of war was called, wherein it was resolved,
“ That, in case we did not see the enemy before night, we
“ should make the best of our way to Gibraltar; but standing
“ in to the shore about noon, we discovered the enemy's fleet
“ and gallies to the westward, near Cape Malaga, going very
“ large. We immediately made all the sail we could, and con-
“ tinued the chase all night.

“ On Sunday the 13th, in the morning, we were within
“ three leagues of the enemy, who brought to, with their
“ heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, formed
“ their line and lay to to receive us. Their line consisted
“ of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four gallies; they were very
“ strong in the centre, and weaker in the van and rear, to sup-
“ ply which, most of the gallies were divided into those quar-
“ ters. In the center was *monseigneur de Thoulouse*, with the
“ white squadron; in the van the white and blue, and in the
“ rear the blue; each admiral had his vice and rear-admirals:
“ our line consisted of fifty-three ships, the admiral, and rear-
“ admirals Byng and Dilkes, being in the center; Sir Cloudef-
“ ley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch
“ the rear.

“ The admiral ordered the *Swallow* and *Panther*, with the
“ *Lark* and *Newport*, and two fire-ships, to lie to the wind-
“ ward of us, that, in case the enemy's van should push through
“ our line with their gallies and fire-ships, they might give
“ them some diversion.

“ We bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a little
“ after ten o'clock, when being about half gun-shot from them,
“ they set all their sails at once, and seemed to intend to stretch
“ a-head and weather us, so that our admiral, after firing a

“ chace-gun at the French admiral, to stay for him, of which
 “ he took no notice, put the signal out, and began the battle,
 “ which fell very heavy on the Royal Katherine, St. George,
 “ and the Shrewsbury. About two in the afternoon, the ene-
 “ my’s van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the
 “ day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gal-
 “ lies, to the leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the
 “ northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave
 “ the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day, within three
 “ leagues one of another, repairing our defects; and at night
 “ they filled and stood to the northward.

“ On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy was got four or
 “ five leagues to the westward of us; but a little before noon
 “ we had a breeze of wind easterly, with which we bore down
 “ on them till four o’clock in the afternoon: it being too late
 “ to engage, we brought to, and lay by with our heads to the
 “ northward all night.

“ On the 16th, in the morning, the wind being still easterly,
 “ hazy weather, and having no sight of the enemy or their
 “ scouts, we filled and bore away to the westward, supposing
 “ they would have gone away for Cadiz; but being advised
 “ from Gibraltar, and the coast of Barbary, that they did not
 “ pass the Streights, we concluded they had been so severely
 “ treated as to oblige them to return to Toulon.

“ The admiral says, he must do the officers the justice to say,
 “ that every man in the line did his duty, without giving the
 “ least umbrage for censure or reflection, and that he never
 “ observed the true English spirit so apparent and prevalent in
 “ our seamen as on this occasion.

“ This battle is so much the more glorious to her majesty’s
 “ arms, because the enemy had a superiority of six hundred
 “ great guns, and likewise the advantage of cleaner ships, be-
 “ ing lately come out of port, not to mention the great use of
 “ their galleys, in towing on or off their great ships, and in
 “ supplying them with fresh men, as often as they had any kil-
 “ led or disabled. But all these disadvantages were surmounted
 “ by the bravery and good conduct of our officers, and the un-
 “ daunted courage of our seamen.”

On

On the return of Sir George Rooke to Portsmouth, and coming up from thence to Windsor, where the court then resided, he was extremely well received by the queen, and his royal highness the lord high-admiral^m. But, unluckily for him, the battle off Malaga was, some way or other, compared to that of Blenheim, fought the same year; which made the matter of fact a point of party-debate, and in the addresses sent up from all parts of her majesty's dominions, the Whigs took all imaginable care to magnify the duke of Marlborough's success, without saying a word of the victory at sea; whereas the Tories were equally zealous in their compliments upon bothⁿ; and, to say the truth, both of these battles were decisive; that of Blenheim put an end to the influence of France in the empire, as that off Malaga extinguished the French power at sea.

Amongst these addresses, the following was the most remarkable; it was presented by Sir Richard Vyvyan, bart. and James Buller, Esq; knights of the shire for the county of Cornwall, attended by the representatives of boroughs in that county, and the principal gentry, introduced by the lord Granville, lord-warden of the stannaries: the address itself being penned by a relation of his, whose writings will always do honour to the English language^o.

“ To the QUEEN's most excellent majesty:

“ Permit, madam, the landlords, bounders, adventurers, and whole body of the tinnors of Cornwall, with hearts full of all dutiful acknowledgments, to approach your majesty, who want words to express their gratitude, their joy, their admiration, for the wonderful success of your majesty's arms, under the conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough.

“ Never was success greater in all its circumstances, a design more secretly carried on, so effectually supported from home,

^m London Gazette, N^o. 4058.

ⁿ Bishop Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 391. B. yer's life of queen Anne, p. 154. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 340, 341. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 135.

^o Lond. Gaz. N^o. 4074.

“ so vigorously executed abroad, on which no less than the liberty of Europe depended; a cause worthy the best of princes, a victory worthy the greatest of generals, which will transmit to all future ages your majesty’s name truly great; great for deliverance, not for oppression.

“ But it is not enough that your majesty triumphs at land; to complete your glory, your forces at sea have likewise done wonders. A fleet so much inferior, in so ill a condition, by being so long out, in such want of ammunition, by taking Gibraltar without gallies, which were of so great service to the enemy: all these disadvantages considered, nothing certainly could equal the conduct of your admiral, the bravery of your officers, the courage of your seamen during the engagement, but their conduct, their bravery, and their courage after it, whereby they perfected a victory, which otherwise, in human probability, must have ended in an overthrow; an action as great in itself as happy in its consequences.

“ May your majesty never want such commanders by sea and land, such administration in the management of the public treasure, which so much contributes to the success of armies and of fleets,

“ May your majesty never want (what sure you never can) the hearts, the hands, the purses, of all your people. Had not we (madam) of this country inherited the loyalty of our ancestors, (which your majesty has been pleased so graciously to remember), such obligations must have engaged the utmost respect; and such all of us will ever pay to your sacred person and government, as with one voice we daily pray, **LONG LIVE QUEEN ANNE**, to whom many nations owe their preservation.”

This, and some other addresses of the like nature, alarmed the ministry extremely; and they took so much pains to hinder Sir George Rooke from receiving the compliments usual upon such successes, that it became visible he must either give way or a change very speedily happen in the administration. Yet even the weight of the ministry could not prevent the house of commons from complimenting the queen, expressly upon the advantages obtained at sea under the conduct of our admiral; but the house of lords, who were under a more immediate influence at

that

that time, was entirely silent; the commons, however, as if they intended to push this matter as far as it would go, presented another address on the 2d of November, in which they desired her majesty to bestow a bounty upon the seamen and land-forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions at sea and land &c.

This determined the point, and Sir George Rooke perceiving that, as he rose in credit with his country, he lost his interest in those at the helm, resolved to retire from public business, and prevent the affairs of the nation from receiving any disturbance upon his account. Thus, immediately after he had rendered such important services to his country, as the taking the fortress of Gibraltar, and beating the whole naval force of France in the battle off Malaga, (the last engagement which, during this war, happened between these two nations at sea), he was constrained to quit his command; and as the Tories had before driven the earl of Orford from his post, immediately after the glorious victory at La Hogue, so the Whigs returned them the compliment, by making use of their ascendancy to the like good purpose, with regard to Sir George Rooke: such is the effect of party-spirit in general! such the heat with which it proceeds! such its dangerous and destructive effects, with respect to the welfare of the state!¹

After this strange return for the services he had done his country, Sir George Rooke passed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in Kent. His zeal for the church, and his strict adherence to the Tories, made him the darling of one set of people, and exposed him no less to the aversion of another; which is the reason that an historian finds it difficult to obtain his true character, from the writings of those who flourished in the same period of time. For my part, I have studied his actions, and his behaviour, and from thence have collected what I have delivered of him, without favour or prejudice: he was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that

¹ See Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 393, 394. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 152, 153. Oldmixon, and other writers. ² Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, complete history of Europe, for the year 1709. Annals of queen Anne, Life of queen Anne, Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, &c.

character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management, when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant testimonies; but especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle off Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a British admiral; and as he was first in command, was first also in danger.

In party-matters, he was, perhaps, too warm and eager, for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate, gave his orders with the utmost serenity, and as he was careful in marking the conduct of his principal officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors; he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit wherever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and though he was more than once called to the bar of the house of commons, yet he always escaped censure; as he likewise did before the lords; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times, but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamour, and popular applause; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests, when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it.

In his private life he was a good husband and a kind master, lived hospitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune: so moderate, that when he came to make his will, it surprized those that were present; but Sir George assigned the reason in few words. "I do not leave much," said he, "but what I leave was honestly gotten, it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing." As to this last article, I cannot but take notice, that, even after he was laid aside, a privy seal

Seal was offered him for passing his accounts, but he refused it, and made them up in the ordinary way, and with all the exactness imaginable.

The gout, which had for many years greatly afflicted him, brought him at last to his grave, on the 24th of January 1708-9, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Sir George was thrice married; first, to Mrs. Mary Howe, the daughter of Sir Thomas Howe of Cold Berwick, in the county of Wilts, baronet: next, to Mrs. Mary Lutterel, daughter of colonel Francis Lutterel of Dunster-castle, in Somersetshire, who died in child-bed of her first child, in the month of July, 1702; and, lastly, to Mrs. Katherine Knatchbull, daughter to Sir Thomas Knatchbull of Mersthem-hatch, in the county of Kent, baronet; which wives he left only one son, born of the second, George Rooke, Esq; the sole heir of his fortune^r.

But his executors took care to secure his memory, by erecting a beautiful monument in the cathedral church of Canterbury, with an excellent character of the deceased inscribed thereon, and which, as well for the beauty of the style as the exact settling of facts and dates, it may not be amiss to exhibit at the close of this life; the rather because it is among the small number of inscriptions which seem to be, in some measure, equal to the worth of the eminent persons whose praises they record. The executors of Sir George Rooke were William Broadnax, and Samuel Miller, Esqrs.

I. M. S.

Georgii Rooke Militis,
Gulielmi Rooke, Militis filii,
Angliæ Vice-Admiralli

Oh quantum est historiæ in isto nomine!
At quantillum hic titulis potis est enarrare!
Profugientibus ex Acie Gallis Anno MDCXCII.

Ipsæ aperta Cymbulâ.
Immistus tormentorum globis,
Imbribusque glandium

^r The complete history of Europe, for 1709, p. 396. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 364. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 641.

(Tot Galliæ testibus credite posteri)
 Ultrices primus flammæ aptans,
 Naves Bellicæ XIII. juxta La Hogue combussit
 Compositis dehinc inter Suevum et Danum
 Summò consilio, et justitiâ discordiis;
 Et pacato septentrione, ad Meridiem se convertit,
 Iterumque exustâ aut captâ ad Vigonem
 Tota Præfidiatrice hostium Classe,
 Atque onerariis immensæ molis argento foctis
 In Patriam feliciter adductis,
 Opimam prædam, fide integerrimâ
 In Ærarium publicum deportavit.
 Gibraltariam copiis navalibus
 Paucioribus horis cepit
 Quam postea mensibus irritò conatu
 Justus obsidebat exercitus.
 Et eadem fere impressione
 Instructissimam Gallorem classem
 Inferior multò viribus,
 Consilio et fortitudine longè superior,
 Non denuo in aciem prodituram, profligavit.
 Sic { Carolò III. ad solium
 Hispaniis ad Libertatem } viam aperuit.
 Europæ ad Pacem
 His atque aliis exantlatis laboribus
 Heroi Christiano,
 Ob egregiam in Ecclesiam pietatem
 Ob fidem Gulielmo magno,
 Et ANNÆ OPTIMÆ
 Sanctissimè semper præsitam;
 Ob Nomen Britannicum per terrarum Orbem
 Amplificatum & decoratum;
 Non titulos superbos
 Non opes invidiosas,
 Nec inanes vulgi plausus;
 Sed optimæ mentis conscientiam,
 Bonorum amorem omnium,
 Otium in paternis sedibus
 Et mortem in Christo concessit Deus.

Obiit XXIV. die Januarii. Anno Ætatis sue LVIII. Christi
MDCCVIII.

MEMOIRS of GEORGE CHURCHILL, Esq;
Admiral of the White, one of the Lord High-admiral's Council, Groom of the Bed-chamber to Prince GEORGE of Denmark, &c.

AS there are some who seem born to easy fortunes, and to a safe and quiet passage through the world; so there are others unlucky enough to be continually exposed to envy, though not excluded from honours. This arises from different causes, but chiefly from the want of popular talents; of which many are deprived by nature, and not a few neglect the use. I cannot say whether the first was the misfortune, or the second the fault, of the gentleman whose life I am at present to consider; but certain it is, that few men were more exposed to envy than he; especially if we remember, that he rose no higher in his profession than might seem the just reward of his services. But, however he might be persecuted by this spirit in his lifetime, there seems to be not the least reason that the effects of popular dislike should attend his memory; and, therefore, it shall be my business to give as clear and candid an account of his actions as I can; and this without any bias either from favour or prejudice.

He was the second son (his grace the duke of Marlborough being the eldest) of Sir Winston Churchill, knt. clerk of the board of green-cloth, and of a worthy family in Dorsetshire*. He was born in the year 1652, some say in February, 1653†, and entered early into the sea-service, where he always behaved with great courage and reputation, and this added to the interest of his family, procured him the command of a man of war before he was quite thirty, which was a thing very unusual in those days. In the reign of king James II. he was

* See the inscription upon his monument. Antiquities of the abbey of Westminster, vol. ii. p. 19, 20.

† Lediard's life of John, duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 7.

made captain of the Newcastle^u, a fourth rate; and soon after the revolution he had a third rate given him. In the famous battle of La Hogue he commanded the St. Andrew, a second rate, in which he performed as good service as any officer in the fleet, according to all the accounts that were published of that engagement^w; and yet, very soon after, he quitted the service, for which several reasons were assigned; but the true one is said to have been the promotion of colonel Aylmer to the rank of rear-admiral, who being a younger officer, Mr. Churchill could not think of serving under him, but retired, and lived privately for some years^x.

I shall not take upon me to censure this part of his conduct; though I must say, that I think it would be a very difficult task to justify it; since every man is bound to serve his country, whether he be rewarded or not; and, therefore, every resignation of this sort is usually attributed to a narrow and selfish spirit, though it is not impossible it may spring from a nobler principle; however, it is better certainly for an officer to avoid all those steps in his conduct that are liable to such sinister interpretations.

In the year 1699, he had an opportunity of coming again into business; for the current then bore so hard on the earl of Orford, who was at the head of the admiralty, that he found it necessary to resign^y; upon which a new commission issued, and another before the close of the year, in which admiral George Churchill was, amongst others, included, and in which he continued near two years; and then king William was pleased to declare Thomas, earl of Pembroke, lord high-admiral^z, which threw him out again, though but for a very short time; since, upon the accession of queen Anne, and the promotion of her consort, prince George of Denmark, to be lord high-admiral, he was appointed one of his council^a, and was restored to his rank in the navy^b, which was chiefly owing to the

^u Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy of England, p. 166.

naval history, p. 466.

^w Burchet's

^x The complete history of Europe, for

1710, p. 25.

^y Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 137.

Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 193. Life of king William, p. 526.

^z Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313.

^a London Gazette, N^o. 3812.

^b Lond. Gaz. N^o. 3810.

high degree of favour in which he stood with his royal highness; who, among many other virtues which adorned his character, was for none more remarkable than for steadily supporting such as he had once honoured with his friendship.

His being made admiral of the blue, had the same effect upon admiral Aylmer, as it is confidently said the promotion of that gentleman had a few years before upon Mr. Churchill; for he immediately quitted the service, and remained for several years unemployed. But, whatever satisfaction Mr. Churchill might receive from this victory over his rival, it is very certain that he could not be said to enjoy much pleasure in the post to which he was raised; for, during the six years he sat at that board, as his royal highness's council was continually attacked, so Mr. Churchill, in particular, had a double portion of that spite and resentment devolved upon him, with which our great losses at sea inspired many of our merchants; and this was very probably increased by the warmth of the admiral's temper, who had a very free way of speaking, and took, perhaps, too great liberties with men of such importance^c.

For, as the naval power of Great Britain arises absolutely from her extensive trade, and the number of ships employed therein, it is very certain that there is a great respect due to those who carry on that trade, and are thereby so very instrumental to the wealth, prosperity, and grandeur of this nation, which are all founded upon its commerce. However, Mr. Churchill maintained himself, by his interest with prince George, not only against the clamours of the many, and the intrigues of the few, but against several addresses and representations of the house of lords, which were particularly calculated for his removal.

His royal highness deceasing on the 28th of October, 1708, the commission which impowered his council to act, naturally determined; and thenceforward admiral Churchill led a private life, at a pleasant house he had in Windsor-Park, where he constructed the finest aviary that was ever seen in Britain, which he had collected with great care, and at a vast expence. This collection of birds, at his decease, be left to his two intimate

^c Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Boyet, and all our writers.

friends and patrons, James, duke of Ormond, and Arthur, earl of Torrington^d. He was never married, but dying in very good circumstances, he left the best part of his fortune to his natural son. He deceased on the 8th of May, 1710, in the 58th year of his age, and was buried, with great funeral solemnity, in the south isle of Westminster-Abbey^e; where a beautiful monument has been erected to his memory, with the following elegant Latin inscription; which I insert as one of the most curious pieces of its kind that is any where to be met with; and as it contains a very full character of him, I need not add any thing further upon that subject.

P. S. E.

GEORGIUS CHURCHILL,
Winstonii equitis aurati ex agro Dorcestriensi

Filius natu secundus;

Invictissimi Ducis Marlburii

Frater non indignus

A primâ juventute militiæ nomen dedit

Et sub regibus Carolo et Jacobo

Terra mariq;

Multâ cum laude meruit.

Serenissimo Principi Georgii de Dania

Per viginti plus annos à cubiculis

Fide, obsequio, moribus

Gratum se reddidit et charum.

Regnante Gulielmo

Quo die classis Gallica ab Anglis

Ad oras Neustriæ fugata et combusta est

(Die semper memorabili)

Eo animi vigore et fortunine pugnavit;

Quo Duce Anglum decuit

Mox ab eodem rege,

Æquissimo meritorum judice;

Unus è commissariis admiralliæ constitutus

^d The complete hist. of Europe, for 1710, p. 26.

^e Lediard's Hist. of the duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 8. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 416. Le Neve's monumenta Anglicana, p. 189.

Res maritimas, quarum erat peritissimus,

Curavit diu et ornavit

Sub foelicissimo demum Annæ imperio

Instaurato iterum bello contra Gallos,

Infestissimos hostes Britanni nominis

Ex admirallis unus

Et celsissimo Principi Danicæ

Magnæ totius Britannicæ admirallo

Factus è consiliis

Curarum omnium et laborum particeps

Domino suo

Foelicissimam navabat operam,

Donec fractæ gallorum vires

Toto mari cesserant

Inde principis optimi lateri adhærens

Ad extremum usq; diem

Omnia grati puiq; animi officia

Perfolvit :

Laboribus tandem et morbis confectus,

Inter amplexus & lachrymas

Amicorum, clientum, et fervorum,

Quos humanus, officiosus, liberalis,

Grates devinctos & fideles habuit,

Pius, tranquillus, animosus, cælebs

Obijt viii. Maij.

Ætat. LVIII.

MDCC X.

MEMOIRS of SIR DAVID MITCHELL, KNT.

Vice-admiral of the Red, one of the Lords-commissioners of the Admiralty, and of the Council to Prince GEORGE of Denmark, &c.

AMONG other reasons, of which there are many, for preserving, as far as possible, the memoirs of deserving persons deceased, who have rose to that degree of eminence by the services they have rendered to their country, this is not the least

least considerable, *viz.* to engage others to proceed as they have done, and to deserve like honours from a like conduct. It is certainly the highest encouragement to behave well, to see that in preceding times men have ascended thereby to the highest honours of which their professions were capable; and this without the countenance of great relations, or the assistance of any other friends than those procured to them by the display of their own desert. But, if this be a thing of consequence in every situation of life, it is much more so in respect to naval affairs; for as there are none of the subjects of Great Britain more useful, or who reflect more honour upon their country, than such as are employed in the navy, so there is nothing that contributes so highly to the support of that generous spirit, and invincible courage, by which they have been always distinguished, as the thoughts of their being able to rise in their own profession, by mere dint of merit, and without borrowing any help from those kinds of arts, to which, from their education and manner of living, they must be necessarily strangers. This it was that chiefly induced me to preserve such fragments as I could collect in relation to the life of Sir David Mitchell, who was promoted without envy, lived with universal reputation, and died with the character of an experienced seaman, and a worthy honest gentleman.

He was descended from a very reputable family in Scotland, though of small fortune; and at the age of sixteen, was put out apprentice to the master of a trading vessel who lived at Leith; with him Mr. Mitchell continued seven years, and afterwards served as a mate on board several other ships, especially in northern voyages; by which he not only acquired great experience as a seaman, but also attained the knowledge of most modern languages; which, with his superior skill in the mathematics, and other genteel accomplishments, recommended him to the favour of his officers, after he had been pressed to sea in the Dutch wars. At the revolution he was made a captain, and being remarkable for his thorough acquaintance with maritime affairs, and known to be firmly attached to that government, he was

⁶ Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 53. The complete history of Europe, for 1746, p. 30.

very soon distinguished and promoted; so that in April 1693, he commanded the squadron that convoyed the king to Holland^g, and having, by this means, an opportunity of conversing freely and frequently with his majesty, became much in his favour, that prince, the 8th of February preceding, having made him rear-admiral of the blue^h; and not long after, appointed him one of the grooms of his bed-chamber. In 1694, Sir David Mitchell, being then a knight, and rear-admiral of the red, sailed with admiral Russel into the Mediterranean; and on the admiral's return home, he was appointed to command in chief a squadron left in those seas; in the execution of which commission he behaved himself with great reputationⁱ; and, in 1696, served under Sir George Rooke, with whom he lived in great friendship^k, notwithstanding he owed his rise and fortunes, in some measure, to the kindness of admiral Russel, in process of time earl of Orford.

I have already taken notice, in the former volume, that he brought over, and carried back, his Czarish majesty, Peter the Great, emperor of Russia, who was so extremely pleased with the company of Sir David Mitchell, (from whom, he often professed, he learned more of maritime affairs than from any other person whatever), that he offered him the highest preferments in Muscovy, if he would have accompanied him thither; but his proposal was not agreeable either to Sir David's circumstances or inclinations; for having, on the death of Sir Fleetwood Sheppard, been appointed gentleman-usher of the black rod^l, and having also his pay as a vice-admiral, he had no reason to quit the service of his native country, even to oblige so great a prince.

In his passage from Holland, his Czarish majesty asked admiral Mitchell, who gave satisfactory answers to all his maritime questions, the manner in use in the British navy, of correcting sailors who deserved punishment; when the admiral mentioning keel-hawling, among many others, that prince desired it might be explained to him, not by words, but by experiment; which

^g London Gazette, N^o. 2858.

^h London Gazette, N^o. 2843.

ⁱ Burchet's naval hist. ry, p. 519.

^k The complete history of Europe

for 1710, p. 30.

^l Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 418.

the admiral excused, as not having then an offender who deserved it. The Czar replied, "Take one of my men," but Sir David informed him, that all on board his ship were under the protection of the laws of England, and he was accountable for every man there, according to those laws, upon which that monarch persisted no farther in his request^m. The king likewise directed admiral Mitchell to wait on the Czar to Portsmouth, and put the fleet out to sea which lay at Spithead, on purpose to entertain him with a mock engagement, which he had seen also in Holland, but not so much to his satisfaction; it affording his imperial majesty so great pleasure, that he declared he thought an English admiral a much happier man than a Czar of Muscovyⁿ.

His skill and conduct as a seaman, and his perfect acquaintance with every branch of naval affairs, rendered him extremely useful, as his polite behaviour made him agreeable to every administration. Upon the accession of queen Anne, Sir David Mitchell was appointed one of the council^o to prince George of Denmark, as lord high-admiral, in which honourable office he continued till the year before the prince's death, when he was laid aside; but upon another change of affairs he was sent over to Holland, with a commission of great importance, which was to expostulate with their High Mightinesses, about the deficiencies of their quotas during the continuance of the war, which commission he discharged with great honour^p. This was the last public act of his life; for, soon after his return to England, he deceased, at his seat called Popes, in Hertfordshire, on the first of June, 1710, with as fair a reputation as any man of his rank and character could acquire, and lies buried in the parish-church of Hatfield in the county before-mentioned^q.

We have now finished, not only the naval history, but the naval memoirs of this reign, by annexing the best accounts we

^m Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 167.

ⁿ The history of the life of Peter I. emperor of Russia, by John Motley, Esq; edit. 1740, 12mo. vol. i. p. 78.

^o London Gazette, N^o. 3812.

^p See the inscription on his monument. London Gazette, N^o. 4089, 4095.

^q The complete history of Europe, for 1710. Pointer's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 675. Le Neve's monumenta Anglicana, p. 188, 208.

would collect of those great men who served their country under the happy auspice of this illustrious princess; the few things that remain to be said, are of a miscellaneous nature, and are brought in here, because they relate to naval affairs, and so are connected with our history more than with any other, and are at the same time of too great importance to be suffered to sleep in oblivion, while it is in our power to save them.

Of all the reigns since the conquest, it may be truly said, that the British constitution never appeared with greater lustre, than under that of the queen; by which I mean, that the prerogative, or influence of the crown, was never less exerted than by queen Anne and her ministers.

Thus immediately after the peace of Utrecht, in order to shew the care and concern that was had for the trade of the nation, the commissioners appointed for taking and stating the public accounts, directed Dr. Charles D'Avenant, director-general of the exports and imports, to lay before them distinct annual accounts of the importations and exportations of all commodities into and out of this kingdom, which he accordingly did, with his own remarks and reflections; a thing of very great importance to the state, and a precedent worthy of imitation; because, without such authentic grounds, it is simply impossible that any probable conjecture should be made as to the growth or decay of our commerce in general, or how far it is, or is not, affected by the encouragement or discouragement of particular branches; which, however, are points of great importance to every government, and without a competent knowledge of which, no ministry can ever make a figure, or any parliament be able to decide with certainty, as to those points which are of greatest consequence to their constituents^r.

At the close of that work Dr. D'Avenant enters largely into the advantages that might be made by a trade carried on directly

^r This report consists of two parts, both printed in 1712, 8vo. and shew many received opinions, in regard to the general commerce, not to have been founded in facts, but rather in conjectures, and sometimes influenced by party prejudices. The matters mentioned in the text, are to be met with in the first report, p. 74, 75, 76, 77.

into the South-seas, and that in terms which shew plainly, the commerce of this company was not, even in a commercial sense, so visionary a thing as the enemies of the lord high-treasurer Oxford, its patron, pretended; for he there says plainly, that this company might extend the trade of the nation by vending its commodities and manufactures in unknown countries, and gives his reasons why he so thought. I must confess, that I never understood the scope of this great man's reasoning upon that subject till I read a book lately published by Mr. Dobbs, wherein he has shewn, with great public-spirit, how this may be done, either by discovering a north-west passage into those seas, and fixing colonies in the countries beyond California, or by prosecuting those discoveries that have been already made by the Dutch, and some of our own navigators, in respect to the Terra Australis, through the Straits of Magellan, either of which would open to us a new commerce, infinitely more advantageous than that of Spain to her Indies, because these new-discovered countries are so situated, as that their inhabitants must stand in want of our goods, at the same time that they stand possessed of gold, silver, spices, and other rich commodities, which must come to us in return; and therefore Dr. D'Avenant had great reason to suggest, that the new South-sea might prove as beneficial to Britain as her old East India company. This very discourse of his, being addressed to the commissioners for taking and stating accounts, is the clearest demonstration, that, when the South-sea company was erected, there was a prospect of these advantages, and that, with a view to these, the powers of the company were rendered so extensive, and their capital made so large*.

If this has not hitherto been done, still however it may be done, since the same powers remain vested in the company by their charter; and it is the more reasonable, that something of this sort should be attempted, because the Assiento contract is now given up. Besides, if we are able to settle any new colonies in that part of the globe, we should be able to trade with the Spaniards without an Assiento, and secure to ourselves such a pro-

* An account of the countries adjoining to Hudson's bay in the north west part of America, &c. by Arthur Dobbs, Esq; London, 1744, 4to, p. 166—169.

portion of commerce as might perhaps equal all that we now possess. But, if it should be found, that, notwithstanding these extensive powers, the company is either not inclined, or disabled to carry on such a new trade, then I humbly think it will be high time for the legislature to transfer those powers to some other body-corporate, that may be able and willing to exert them, and this with such clauses of emendation or restriction, as the experience we have since had of the management of public companies shall suggest to be either necessary or expedient^t.

In the same report by Dr. D'Avenant there are several other curious remarks on almost all the branches of our commerce; and if such a general state of trade as this were to be laid before the parliament, once at least in every reign, we should then be able to judge both of the efficacy of the laws already made, and of the usefulness and expediency of new ones. But it is now time to return from this digression, into which I was led by the desire of preserving a hint which seems so very capable of improvement, to the last acts of the queen's government and life, with which I shall conclude this chapter.

The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our disputes abroad, proved the cause of high debates and great distractions at home. The people grew uneasy, the ministry divided, and the heats and violence of party rose to such a height, that her majesty found herself so embarrassed, as not to be able either to depend upon those in power, or venture to turn them out. The uneasiness of mind, that such a perplexed situation of affairs occasioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of prince George's death; and this weakness of her's served to increase those disorders in her government, which were so grievous to herself, and so detrimental to her subjects; for her ministers, forgetting their duty to her and their regard for their country, consulted only their ambition and their private views; so that, whenever they

^t The rectitude of granting and continuing an exclusive trade to any company has been warmly disputed; but sure the impropriety of continuing exclusive powers to a company, that carries on no commerce, will not admit of any dispute at all.

met in council, they studied rather to cross each other's proposals, than to settle or pursue any regular plan; and to such a monstrous extravagance these jealousies rose at last, that it is believed a quarrel between two of her principal ministers, in her presence, proved, in some measure, the cause of her death^u.

For being at Kensington, to which she had removed from Windsor, she was seized on the 29th of July with a drowsiness and sinking of her spirits, and the next day, about seven in the morning, was struck with an apoplexy, and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon she was sensible, and, at the request of the privy-council, declared the duke of Shrewsbury lord high-treasurer of Great Britain, though he was already lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This was the last act of her administration; for the council now took upon themselves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkley to hoist his flag on board the fleet, and sending general Whitham to take the command in Scotland, and likewise dispatched orders for the immediate embarkation of seven British battalions from Flanders. In the mean time the queen continued in the hands of her physicians and domestics, some of whom flattered themselves with false hopes to the last; but, the blisters not rising, her majesty about seven in the morning, on the first of August, 1714, breathed her last^v. The following character I have taken from a history of her reign in MS. which now, in all probability, will never be printed:

ANNE STUART, daughter to James II. king of England, &c. was born at St. James's, February 6, 1664-5, at 39 minutes past eleven at night. She was tenderly and carefully educated; and, having from nature the most valuable gifts, she became a very accomplished princess. She was moderately tall, and well-proportioned, her complexion and shape excellent, till her constitution was impaired by grief and sickness. She appeared to best advantage speaking; for she had a clear harmonious voice, great good sense, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected;

^u Memoirs of the four last years of the reign of queen Anne, p. 315, 316.

^v Lamberti, tome viii. p. 657, 658. where there is a very curious and circumstantial account of her majesty's behaviour in her last moments.

ed ; her humility sincere ; her good-nature very conspicuous, but would have been more so, had it not been inherent in her family. As a wife, she was the pattern of conjugal fidelity, without any affectation of fondness. Her tenderness, as a mother, to her children, was regulated by the rules of reason and religion ; but her indulgence, as the mother of her subjects, knew no bounds. It was her only foible, that the uprightness of her own intentions left her without suspicion. Her affection for her people was so apparent, that it was never doubted, and so firmly rooted, as to be discernable in her last words. With a just sense of her own high dignity, she had a true concern for the rights of her subjects, and a strong passion for the glory of the nation ; she loved public-spirit, and encouraged it ; and, though she was naturally magnificent and generous, yet she was frugal in her private expences, not to hoard, but to bestow on the necessities of the state. She gave her tenths to the clergy, which will remain a lasting monument of her zeal for the church. The many good laws, and the numerous happy events which fell out in her reign, will ever preserve her memory in esteem with those who wish well to the state. In a word, she was blessed with all the endowments that could make a woman admired, and exerted all the virtues necessary to make a monarch beloved. At her death her loss was thought irretrievable, and few who remember her have altered their opinions. It would be improper to say more, and ingratitude to have said less.

Her majesty had issue by the prince of Denmark, 1. A daughter, that was still-born the 12th of May, 1684 ; 2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born the 2d of June, 1685, and died in February, 1690 ; 3. Anne Sophia, who was born the 12th of May, 1686, and died the February following ; 4. William, duke of Gloucester, born the 24th of July, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age ; 5. The lady Mary, born October 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized ; 6. George, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

ABSTRACT of the ROYAL NAVY, as it stood at the
Death of the QUEEN.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Men.
I.	7	714	5312
II.	13	1170	7194
III.	39	2890	16,089
IV.	66	3490	16,058
V.	32	1190	4160
VI.	25	500	1047
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	182	9954	49,860
Fire-ships, &c. } about	50		

LIVES

L I V E S

O F T H E

A D M I R A L S :

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

C H A P. XXII.

Containing the Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN,
from the accession of king George I. to the time of
his demise.

WE are now to enter on a new period of time; and a great change in our government, brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the next Protestant heirs: for the princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was styled the princess Elisabeth of Great Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England*; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of these realms.

* Stat. 12 Will. III. cap. 2. sect. 1.

But the princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, GEORGE-LEWIS, elector of Hanover, her son, became heir of this crown on the demise of queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by another statute passed in the fourth year of her majesty's reign¹.

For, by that law, the administration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on seven persons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the successor should think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law².

The seven justices fixed by the statute were, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Thomas Tennison; the lord high-chancellor, Simon, lord Harcourt; the lord-president of the council, John, duke of Buckinghamshire; the lord high-treasurer, Charles, duke of Shrewsbury; the lord privy-seal, William, earl of Dartmouth; first lord-commissioner of the admiralty, Thomas, earl of Strafford; and lord chief-justice of the King's-Bench, Sir Thomas Parker. The lords justices appointed by the successor were, the lord archbishop of York, Sir William Dawes; the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxborough; the earls of Pembroke, Anglesea, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; the lord viscount Townshend; and the lords Halifax and Cowper³.

These lords justices, the same day the queen died, issued a proclamation, declaring the accession of king George I. and commanding him to be proclaimed through all parts of the kingdom; which was done accordingly. On the next day they sent the earl of Dorset to his majesty, to invite him over; and on the 3d of August the lord high-chancellor, in the name of

¹ See Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 431—434.

² It may not be amiss to remark, that the electorate was created in 1692, in favour of duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover, his majesty's father, who, in 1658, was succeeded by this monarch in that quality, his mother the princess Sophia, being styled electress-dowager, who deceased at the age of eighty four, June 9, 1714, N. S.

³ Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 659, where there are various remarkable particulars.

the lords justices, opened the session of parliament by a speech^b. On the 17th of the same month, the earl of Berkley sailed with a squadron of sixteen men of war, and six yachts, for Holland, in order to attend his majesty, where he was joined by eight ships of the States General, under rear-admiral Coperen; and, to secure the coasts and the channel, admiral Wager was sent down to Portsmouth, and Sir Thomas Hardy to Plymouth, to equip such ships as were fit for service^c.

His majesty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands; and very soon made some considerable alterations in the several boards; particularly in that of the admiralty, which was clean swept; for, instead of Thomas, earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, John Aislabie, Esq; Sir James Wihart, and Dr. John Clarke, who were there on the demise of the late queen, his majesty appointed Edward, earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Esq; Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baillie, Esqrs^d. In the month of November, Matthew Aylmer, Esq; was declared admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet; and, soon after, Sir Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the red, was sent to relieve Sir James Wihart in the Mediterranean^e.

^b Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 563, 564. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 393, 394. Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 34, 36.

^c Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 866.

^d Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 576. Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 237. Historical register, v. l. ii. p. 12, in the appendix.

^e In order to render the subsequent history more clear, it will be requisite to give the reader a short state of the commands in the navy, at the accession of king George I.

Sir John Leake, Knight, rear-admiral of Great Britain.

Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet.

Sir James Wihart, Knight, admiral of the white squadron.

Sir John Norris, Knight, admiral of the blue.

James, earl of Berkley, vice-admiral of the red.

Sir Edward Whitaker, Knight, vice-admiral of the white.

John Baker, Esq, vice-admiral of the blue.

Sir Charles Wager, Knight, rear-admiral of the red.

Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white.

Sir Thomas Hardy, Knight, rear-admiral of the blue.

The subject of this work obliges me only to take notice of such acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after observing that a new parliament was summoned, and met at Westminster, March the 17th, the next thing that occurs is, that, on the 1st of April, 1715, they came to a resolution to allow ten thousand seamen, at four pounds a-month; and, on the 9th of May following, granted 35,574 l. 3s. 6d. for the half-pay of sea-officers; 197,896 l. 17s. 6d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 237,277 l. for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ships. These large sums were thought necessary, because, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreseen, that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise, which might require fresh armaments^f.

Amongst these disputes, the most serious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the Swedish privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, were confiscated, under a pretence that we assisted and supplied the Czar and his subjects with ships, arms, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackson, her majesty's minister at Stockholm, had presented several memorials upon this subject, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make use of more effectual means, viz. sending a strong squadron of men of war into the Baltic, the rather because their high mightinesses the States-General, labouring under the same inconveniencies, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourse to the same measures, in order to protect the commerce of their subjects^g.

This once resolved, a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for this service, and the command given to Sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the same squadron, to assist him^h. The admiral hoisted his flag on board the Cumberland, a third rate,

^f Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 415. Historical register, vol. i. p. 144.

^g Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 815, where the matter is treated at large.

^h When the commerce of Britain suffers, a British fleet is the quickest and most effectual remedy that can be applied.

having ten ships of the line in his division. Sir Thomas Hardy was in the Norfolk, a third rate also, and had in his division eight ships of the line, the Mermaid frigate of thirty-two guns, and the Drake sloop, which carried sixteen. This fleet sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May¹, and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June^k following; where finding the Dutch squadron, a conference was held on board the Cumberland on the 14th, in which it was resolved, that the combined squadron should proceed together, with the English and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their respective ports; which they performed accordingly by the close of the month^l.

One of the first things Sir John Norris did, was, to dispatch an expresse to the court of Stockholm, in order to be satisfied whether the Swedes were resolved to go on in their practice of seizing and confiscating our ships; or whether, before it was too late, they would consent to enter into a negotiation for determining the disputes which had arisen between the two nations. The answer he received was so loose and uncertain, that he resolved to proceed according to his instructions. After Sir John's departure from Copenhagen, there arrived, under the convoy of two British men of war, forty-six merchant ships, that were not ready to sail from England with Sir John Norris. These ships remained till the Danish fleet was ready to sail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of August, the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, with the Russian squadron, resolved to sail up the Baltic with the English and Dutch^m.

As the Czar of Muscovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and designed to command his own ships, several consultations were held to regulate the command of the several squadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the confederate fleet. It was at last resolved to give the chief com-

¹ Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 395. Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 429. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 48.

^k Mercure historique et politique, tom. lxi. p. 40.

^l These admirals were sent to protect our trade, and they paid due regard to their instructions.

^m Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 423. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 105.

mand of it to the Czar of Muscovy, but so, that Sir John Norris should command the vanguard of the united fleet, the Czar the body of the line of battle, the Danish admiral count Gueldenlew the rear, and that the Dutch commodore, with his squadron and five British men of war, should proceed with the trade of both nations for their respective harbours in the Baltic. According to this resolution, the 16th the Czar hoisted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his finest ships, and was thereupon immediately saluted by Sir John Norris with a discharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Danish and Dutch; and, these compliments being paid, his Czarian majesty gave the signal for sailing; the 18th they came to an anchor in the Kiegebucht, from whence they sailed towards Bornholm, where, being informed that the Swedish fleet was returned to Carlscroon^a, the British and Dutch merchant ships, with their convoys, separated, and proceeded on their respective voyages, and the Czar, with his squadron, sailed for the coast of Mecklenburg^o.

The Swedes had at this time a very numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wise to hazard it against such an unequal force as that of the confederates, and therefore withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's absolute orders. On the 28th of October Sir John Norris, with the British squadron under his command, and the Danish men of war commanded by count Gueldenlew, arrived at Bornholm, on which day the two cruizers, which Sir John Norris had sent to Carlscroon, returned to him with an account, that they had seen the Swedish fleet, with two flags and seven broad pendants, in Carlscroon, and all the ships they could discover lay rigged, as also that they had three cruizers under sail off the port. That night Sir John Norris sent these two cruizers, being the best sailers of his squadron, to Dantzick, to hasten the trade down the Baltic, and, if they found the six British men of war and all the merchantmen had joined there, to order the commodore not to lose a moment that could be made use of for sailing, but to proceed. These cruizers arrived at Dantzick on

^a Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 869. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome lxi. p. 261. Gordon's life of Peter the Great, vol. ii. p. 77. ^o Lamberti, tome ix. p. 620. where the political motives of this measure are copiously discussed.

the 30th, where they joined the British men of war, and the trade, which on the 31st all failed from Dantzick ^p.

On the 9th of November the British men of war, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's squadron at Bornholm, (having failed from the fleet off Dantzick on the 4th of this month), and the next day came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th arrived the Dutch trade with their convoy, which had been obliged to stay after ours at Dantzick for provisions. A few days after, Sir John failed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithstanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were surprised by a violent storm, which dispersed them, and in which the August of sixty guns, and the Garland of twenty-four, were unfortunately lost; yet the rest, with all the trade, safely arrived at the Trow on the 29th of November in the morning. Sir John Norris left seven ships of war, under the command of commodore Cleeland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the farther security of the British trade, if necessary ^q. Thus I have prosecuted the history of this Baltic expedition, from the sailing to the return of the fleet, that the reader might the better apprehend it: and now I ought to recur to the proceedings of our fleets in the channel, but that it seems requisite to clear up some points relating to this Baltic expedition, which have of late been the subject of high disputes.

The great point in question as to this Swedish expedition is, whether it took rise from our own concerns, or from those of the electorate of Hanover. On the one hand it is very certain that the Swedish privateers took our ships as well as those of other nations, and that, in fitting our fleet for those seas, we did no more than the Dutch. On the arrival of Sir John Norris in the Baltic, our minister presented a memorial; in which he set forth the particular damages sustained by our merchants, amounting to 69,024 l. 2s. 9d. for which he demanded satisfaction, and at the same time insisted on the repeal of an edict, which his Swedish majesty had lately published, and by which the com-

^p Voltaire, *histoire de Charles XII. roi de Suède*, liv. vii. where these disputes are treated very superficially.

^q Lediard's *naval history*, vol. ii. p. 870. *Annals of king George*, vol. iii. p. 107. *Mémoire historique et politique*, tome lxi p. 616, 617.

merce of the Baltic was wholly prohibited to the English. This memorial was presented June 15, 1715, and in it the nature of Sir John Norris's commission was explained; so that, thus far, all this quarrel seems to arise from his majesty's care of the British commerce^r.

But, as elector of Hanover, he had also some disputes with his majesty of Sweden, of quite a different nature; for having purchased from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himself obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with the first-mentioned power in declaring war against Sweden; and, even before this was done, some English ships joined the Danish fleet, in order to distress the Swedes. Of this the Swedish minister here complained by a memorial delivered to lord Townshend, then secretary of state, dated October 3, 1715. His Swedish majesty also, in answer to the Hanoverian declaration of war, published some very severe reflections, in which he asserts, that the honour of the British flag had been prostituted to serve the interests of another state, and in order to create an intercourse between the king's regal and electoral dominions^s. Thus far I have given the evidence on both sides, and leave the whole to the determination of the reader, with this observation only, that the Dutch, though no less injured, no less concerned in their trade than we, did not, however, think it necessary to come to such extremities.

While this squadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguished in Scotland, but with so little assistance from our naval force, that it scarce deserves to be mentioned. It is true, Sir George Byng was sent to hoist his flag in the Downs in the middle of summer, and continued there as long as the season would permit^t; but no enemy appeared, and Sir John Jennings was sent to Edinburgh, from whence he went on board the Oxford in the Frith, and hoisted his flag as commander in

^r Lamberti, tome ix. p. 431. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 423. Historical register for the year 1716, p. 515.

^s Lamberti, tome ix. p. 301. Historical register for 1716, p. 15. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Oldmixon, vol. ii. and other writers.

^t Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 867. Annals of King George, vol. ii. p. 3. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 50.

chief of the squadron then upon the coasts, which would have been highly serviceable in case the pretender's adherents had either had any naval force, or had been succoured from beyond the seas: but there was nothing of this kind. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was soon joined by the clans; and, the duke of Argyll being sent down against him, it quickly appeared how ill their measures had been taken. His grace had indeed but a small number of regular troops under his command; but his interest was so extensive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for king George, but, which perhaps was the greater service of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwise had joined the rebels. The business was decided by the battle of Sheriff-muir, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715^u, the same day that general Foster, and the English who were in arms, surrendered at Preston. Yet, after this, the chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland in a very poor vessel, where soon finding his affairs desperate, and his person in the utmost danger, he contrived to make his escape from the north with the utmost secrecy, which he effected by going on board a clean-tallow'd French snow, which sailed out of the harbour of Montrose^w, February the third, in sight of some English men of war, but kept so close along shore, that they soon found it was impossible to follow her.

These were the principal transactions of this year, at the close of which things were still in such confusion, that the parliament thought fit to grant very large supplies for the ensuing year, *viz.* 10,000 seamen at the rate of 4*l.* *per* month, the sums of 233,849*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* for the ordinary of the navy, and 23,623*l.* for the extraordinary repairs of the navy^x. We have already taken notice of what passed under Sir John Norris in the Baltic, and have therefore only to observe, that this year some of the piratical republics in Barbary having broke the peace, admiral

^u Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 621. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 459. Historical register for 1716, p. 108, 112. Mercure historique et politique, tome lix. p. 671.

^w Annals of king George, vol. ii. p. 230. Historical register for 1716, p. 115. Mercure historique et politique, tome lx. p. 353.

^x Tindal. Oldmixon. Annals of king George, vol. ii. p. 212.

Baker, who had the command of the English Squadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reason, which he did without any great difficulty. But the Salce rovers still did a great deal of mischief, and it was the more difficult to suppress them, because their ships were so small, and drew so little water, that our men of war were very seldom able to come near enough to exchange shot with them. At last captain Delgarno, one of the most active officers in the navy, in his majesty's ship the *Hind* of twenty guns only, came up with one of their best men of war of twenty-four guns, and, after an obstinate engagement of two hours and a half, obliged her to strike; but she had not been in his possession above a quarter of an hour before she sunk, and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, perished: this, with the loss of another vessel of eight guns, and two more of sixteen guns each, which were forced on shore by his majesty's ship the *Bridgewater*, delivered, in a great measure, the English commerce in the Mediterranean from the interruptions given by these pirates⁷.

In the month of July his majesty went over to Holland, escorted by an English Squadron, and from thence continued his journey by land to Hanover, where the disturbances in the north made his presence at that time particularly necessary, and where he continued the rest of the year 1716, at the close of which admiral Aylmer sailed with his Squadron for Holland to escort him home⁸. In the mean time the government was employed in extinguishing the remains of the rebellion here and in Scotland, and providing, in the best manner they could, against the revival of such disturbances, of which they had the greater hopes from the conduct which the regent of France pursued, who shewed a strong inclination to live upon good terms with Great Britain, as was indeed his interest⁹. But it very soon appeared, that, notwithstanding the chevalier's adherents had lost their hopes with respect to succours from France, they had still another power willing and ready to assist them.

⁷ Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 868, 869.

⁸ Historical register for 1716, p. 355. *Mercurius historicus et politicus*, tome lxi. p. 221.

⁹ Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 305. *Annals of king George*, vol. iii. p. 109.

Upon his majesty's return a dangerous conspiracy was said to be discovered, in which many were engaged at home and abroad, and for defeating of which it was thought necessary to secure the person and papers of count Gyllenbourg^b, then his Swedish majesty's ambassador at this court, and who at the time of his death was prime minister of that kingdom; a fact which struck the foreign ministers here with the utmost surprise, from which, however, they quickly recovered themselves, when they were informed, that it was not for any act of his ministry, but for his being concerned in the management of a plot against the government^c. About the same time the famous baron Goertz^d was, at his Britannic majesty's request, arrested in Holland, where he acted as minister from the king of Sweden. In order to satisfy the world, the letters and papers relating to the invasion, which it was said his Swedish majesty intended to have made in Scotland, were rendered public^e, and the parliament soon after shewed the warmest resentment at the insolence of this attempt.

It was indeed amazing, that a prince, already overwhelmed by so many and so powerful enemies, should think of adding to their number by practices of this kind: but whoever considers the genius and spirit of the late Charles XII. will easily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous soever, which seemed to promise the dissolving that confederacy by which he was distressed. But his design was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected discovery, which put it absolutely out of his power to carry it into execution; but it likewise brought upon him new difficulties, in consequence of his Britannic majesty's resentment of such behaviour, which presently discovered itself by the vigorous resolutions taken here: for, on the 21st of February, it was resolved in the house of commons, "That a bill be brought in to authorize his majesty "to prohibit commerce with Sweden, during such a time as his "majesty shall think it necessary, for the safety and peace of his

^b Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 630. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 69. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxii. p. 224.

^c See Mr. Secretary Stanhope's letter to the foreign ministers, then residing in England, in the historical register for the year 1717, p. 67. ^d Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 141.

^e Historical register for 1717, p. 71. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxii. p. 341.

"kingdom;" which afterwards passed both houses, and had the royal assent; and, on the 2d of March, a proclamation was published for this purpose^f.

As it was foreseen that this affair must necessarily occasion the sending another squadron to the Baltic, the necessary supplies were very early granted, viz. 10,000 seamen for the service of the year 1717; 226,799 l. 5s. 3d. for the ordinary of the navy, and 20,761 l. for the extraordinary repairs, and for the furnishing such sea-stores as might be necessary^g. Immediately after, orders were issued for forming a grand squadron, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates, for the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two admirals under him, with an additional force; but, before those ships were ready, the ministry altered their design, and Sir George, in obedience to fresh orders, sailed on the 30th of March for Copenhagen^h.

Whatever necessity there might be for these vigorous measures, yet it is certain, that this necessity did not so fully appear to many who were hitherto supposed as penetrating politicians as any in this kingdom; and therefore an opposition was created where it was least expected, I mean by some who had the honour to be in the king's councils, which, however did not hinder them from expressing their sentiments with a British freedom. Their arguments, however, had so little weight, that, as soon as Sir George Byng was sailed, some of the great ministers prevailed upon his majesty to send, on the 3d of April, 1717, a message to the house of commons to this effect: "That, being desirous to secure his kingdoms against the present dangers with which they were threatened from Sweden, he hoped they would enable him to make good such engagements as might ease his people of all future charge and apprehensions upon this account." This occasioned warm debates in the house, it being said, that the demanding a supply, without communicating the particular uses to which it was to be appropriated, was un-

^f Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 109. Historical register for 1717, p. 170.

^g Annals of K. George, vol. iii. p. 152. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Historical register for 1717, p. 123.

^h Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 636. Historical register for 1717, p. 73. Columna rostrata, p. 300.

ⁱ Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 115.

parliamentary;

parliamentary; and even Mr. Walpole, afterwards created earl of Orford, and Mr. Speaker, appear to be against it. However, it was at length carried in the committee, by 164 to 149, “ That it was the opinion of the committee, that a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thousand pounds be granted to his majesty, to concert such measures with foreign princes and states as may prevent any charge and apprehension from the designs of Sweden for the future.” When the question for agreeing with the committee was put in the house, it was carried but by four voices, viz. yeas 153, noes 149^k.

The next morning Mr. Secretary Stanhope let the lord Townshend know, that his majesty had no farther occasion for his service, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland: whereupon Mr. Walpole, who was then first commissioner of the treasury, Mr. Methuen secretary of state, and Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, laid down their employments^l. A few days after, Edward, (Russel) earl of Orford, resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty; upon which his majesty thought proper to change that board, and accordingly, James, earl of Berkley, Matthew Aylmer, Esq; Sir George Byng, James Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. were made lords commissioners of the admiralty^m.

It was necessary to take notice of these domestic proceedings, before we followed Sir George Byng with his fleet into the Baltic; where so little was performed, that it is not easy to give the reader any tolerable satisfaction about it. On the 11th of April, Sir George arrived in the road of Copenhagen; the next day he had an audience of the king of Denmark, and assisted at several conferences, which were held in the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case it should be thought requisite for the several squadrons to joinⁿ. Sir George next detached five ships of the line to cruise in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish pri-

^k Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 521. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 162. Historical register for 1717, p. 153.

England, vol. ii. p. 639.

^l Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 639. ^m Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 169. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 71.

ⁿ Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 871. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 317. Mercure historique & politique, tom. lx i. p. 507.

vateers. The Danish cruisers being likewise employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ships could pass out of that port. Sir George himself waited only for a fair wind to sail with the rest of the British Squadron into the Baltic, where the Swedes, however, had by this time absolutely laid aside whatever designs were formed, either to our prejudice or against the general peace of Europe.

On the 7th of May, however, our admiral sailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ships, bound for several parts of the Baltic, and in the Kiøger-bucht was joined by the Danish fleet, commanded by vice-admiral Gabel: they sailed together towards Carlscroon; but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the season of the year began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of coming home with the fleet; and accordingly, on the 2d of November, past the Sound^o with nine English men of war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burden, leaving behind him six men of war, to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet; and on the 15th of the same month arrived safe at the mouth of the Thames; there leaving his Squadron, he came up to London, where he was graciously received by his majesty. So that here ended the naval expedition for this year, and with it, in a great measure, all the apprehensions the nation was under from the Swedes^P.

In

^o Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 872. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 63. *Mercurc historique & politique*, tom. lxxii. p. 689.

^P To quiet the minds of the people, and prevent their running into a notion that the fitting out this fleet was not really intended for the honour and service of Great Britain, the following account was published in the Gazette.

Adm. salary-office, June 28.

" Captain Lestock of the Panther, who commands the ships appointed by Sir George Byng to cruise off Go tenburgh, gives an account by his letter, dated the 13th of last month, that on the 27th of April he sailed out of Mørde in Norway, and three days after took a Swedish privateer-dogger of six guns and seventy-two men, commanded by one St. Leger, the person who some time since seized one of our packet-boats. That the same afternoon he retook a Dutch hoy, which had been taken the day before by a Swedish ship of ten guns; and on the 1st of May, in the afternoon, he met and took the privateer into whose hands the hoy had fallen; all which prizes were carried into Årund-l; and that, the 9th at night, the Strassford retook a Dutch fly-boat. By another letter from captain Lestock, dated the 26th of May, he

" gave

In the mean time his majesty had thought fit to appoint Sir John Norris envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Czar of Muscovy^a; and, as if things began to be so disposed as to admit of a peace in the north, a resolution was taken to discharge count Gyllenbourg, which was thus brought about. His royal highness the duke of Orleans ordered the French minister here^c to acquaint the king, that his royal highness was perfectly well informed as to the king of Sweden's disposition, and that he was thoroughly satisfied, that his Swedish majesty had not, or ever had, any intention to disturb the tranquillity of his Britannic majesty's dominions; that if, therefore, his ministers had entered into any practices of that kind, it was entirely without his knowledge; and that, upon their return to Sweden, he would cause a strict inquiry to be made into their conduct, in order to punish them, if they should be proved guilty^d. Upon this proposition from the regent of France, it was agreed, that count Gyllenbourg should be exchanged against Mr. Jackson, the English minister at Stockholm, and that baron Goertz should be released from his confinement in Holland, which was accordingly performed. Yet the storm did not entirely blow over; but the Swedish quarrel still proved a source of new expence to the British nation^e.

The ministry, to shew that their thoughts were not wholly taken up by these disputes in the north, framed at this time a very just and laudable design of suppressing the pirates in the West Indies, who, since the close of the late war, were become very numerous and highly insolent. And to give the public a just idea of their care in this respect, they caused an order of

" gave an account, that his majesty's ship the *Severn* had taken a pirate, and rec-
 " taken a Dutch fly-boat; that the *Chatham* had taken two Swedish privateers;
 " and that, on the 15th of the said month of May, our ships took a Swedish bri-
 " gantine of eight guns and twenty-six men."

^a Historical register for 1717, p. 29.
 pin, vol. iv. p. 540. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 649. *Annals*

of king George, vol. iii. p. 320.

^b Voltaire *histoire de Charles XII.* roi de Suede, lib. viii. where he says, they were released without his Swedish majesty's deigning to give the king of Britain the smallest satisfaction. Yet he acknowledges the principal point the Czar carried, while in France, was engaging the duke regent to interest himself in this affair.

^c Historical register for 1717, p. 35. *Mercurie historique & politique*, tom. lxiii. p. 356.

council,

council, dated the 15th of September, 1717, to be published, to the effect following, viz. "That complaint having been made to his majesty by great numbers of merchants, masters of ships, and others, as well as by the several governors of his majesty's islands and plantations in the West Indies, that the pirates are grown so numerous, that they infect not only the seas of Jamaica, but even those of the northern continent of America; and that unless some effectual means be used, the whole trade from Great Britain in those parts will not only be obstructed, but be in imminent danger of being lost; his majesty has, upon mature deliberation in council, been graciously pleased, in the first place, to order a proper force to be employed for suppressing the said piracies; and, that nothing may be wanting for the more effectual putting an end to the said piracies, his majesty had also been graciously pleased to issue a proclamation, dated the 5th instant. And, whereas it hath also been represented to his majesty, that the house of lords had addressed her late majesty on this account, particularly with respect to the Bahama-islands; but that there were not any means used, in compliance with that address, for securing the said Bahama-islands; and that, at this time, the pirates have a lodgment with a battery on Harbour-island, one of the Bahamas, as also, that the usual retreat, and general receptacle for pirates, is at Providence, the principal of those islands; his majesty has been farther pleased to give directions for dislodging those pirates, who have taken shelter in the said islands, as well as for securing those islands, and making settlements, and a fortification there, for the safety and benefit of the trade and navigation of those seas for the future."

By a proclamation, dated the fifth of September, 1717^w, his majesty promised his pardon to any English West India pirates, who should surrender themselves on or before the 5th of September following, for all piracies committed before the 5th of January preceding: and, after the said 5th of September any of his majesty's officers by sea or land, who should take a pirate, upon his conviction, to have for a captain, a hundred pounds;

^u Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 327. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. ^w Historical register for 1717, p. 37. Salmon's chronological historian, vol: ii. p. 77.

for any other officer, from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer, thirty pounds; and for every private man, twenty pounds. Lastly, any pirate delivering up a captain, or commander, on or before the 6th of September following, (so as he should be convicted), was to have two hundred pounds reward, to be paid at the treasury. We shall, in treating of the events of next year, give a large account of the good effects which this proclamation produced, by giving an immediate check to the insolency of these sort of people, and opening a way to their total suppression. But it is now time to return to affairs of greater importance, and to say somewhat of the politics of the British ministry at this juncture; the rather, because all the naval transactions which follow, depend entirely upon them.

The troubles of the north still subsisting, we could not suddenly extricate ourselves from the share we had taken in them; though it was visibly such a one, as had put our commerce under great difficulties abroad, and perplexed us not a little at home. The merchants complained of the bad effects which the prohibition of trade with Sweden had produced; asserting that, instead of thirty thousands pounds a-year, which the balance of that trade constantly brought us, we now lost ninety thousand pounds a-year; by purchasing Swedish commodities from other people, particularly from the Dutch, who raised the price of Swedish iron four pounds a ton; which was thought the harder, because, in the original quarrel, the Dutch were as deep as ourselves, and now, by an unaccountable turn, they were in possession of the whole Swedish trade; and we, after all our armaments, were intirely excluded^x.

This was the effect of the Swedish war abroad; but here at home, things were in a worse situation; for several of the leading patriots who had resigned their places, upon that change of measures which produced the Swedish war, insisted warmly, both within doors, and without, that it was now carried on, not only without regard, but in direct opposition, and with manifest disadvantage to the interest of Great Britain. In proof of

^x Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 178. Historical register, for 1718, p. 141. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 113.

this, they alledged not only the memorials presented from time to time by the Swedish ministers, but those also delivered of late by the minister from the Czar; which concurred in affirming, that all our measures in the north were governed by the German interest⁷. I do not take upon me to determine whether these gentlemen were in the right, or in the wrong. I only relate matters of fact as I find them: and relate them, because my history would not be intelligible without them.

The ministry, however, did not change their sentiments, but persisted still in their resolution, to bring the king of Sweden to such terms as they thought reasonable by force. This was a method, which, of all princes, Charles XII. could least bear; and therefore instead of thinking of a peace upon such terms, he turned his thoughts intirely on the means of carrying on the war; and, though his affairs were in a very low and distressed condition, yet his heroic spirit, joined to the indefatigable pains he took, put them at last into such a posture, that, if he had not been snatched away by a sudden death, it is highly probable he would have restored them, at least on the side of Germany⁸.

But this was not the only affair of consequence that employed the thoughts of the administration. We were then in close confederacy with the emperor and France, and, in conjunction with these powers, had undertaken to settle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty of Utrecht left them. With this view, the triple alliance was concluded on the 4th January, 1717⁹; and, that not answering the end expected from it, we next entered (as will be shewn) into the famous quadruple alliance¹⁰, which was intended to remedy all these defects, and to fix the general tranquillity for ever. Yet, by unforeseen accidents, to which human policy will be always liable, this al-

⁷ Lamberti, tom. x. p. 40—51, where the reader may find the several memorials, and answers to them.

⁸ Voltaire histoire de Charles XII. roi de Suède, liv. viii. p. 318, 329. Mercure historique et politique, tom. lxxi. p. 37. Oldmixon's history, vol. ii. p. 628.

⁹ Corps universel diplomatique, tom. viii. part I. p. 484. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 508. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 660. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 139.

¹⁰ Corps universel diplomatique, tom. viii. part I. p. 531. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 156. Historical register, for 1718, p. 321.

liance proved the cause of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its consequences was the source of all the troubles that disturbed Europe, from the time of its conclusion to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By this quadruple treaty (the terms of which were already fixed, though it was not executed for some months afterwards) the contracting powers undertook to satisfy the emperor and the king of Spain: in order to which, his imperial majesty was to have Sicily given him; and the reversion of all the Italian dominions, which the queen of Spain pretended was to be secured to her posterity. The crown of Spain was highly displeased with the provision made for its interest; and though the emperor seemed to be very well contented at this juncture; yet, as soon as Spain was compelled to accept what was now offered her, he also grew displeased with this partition, and we were many years unable to keep them both in any temper, or preserve ourselves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the course of this work, will be sufficiently informed. These Spanish disputes were another ground of opposition, which afforded room for the then patriots to complain, that we were more attentive to the interest of the emperor, than careful of the commerce of Great Britain. In spite of this clamour, the ministry concerted with the emperor and France, the proper means for executing the project which gave birth to this treaty, by taking the island of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, who was now possessed of it, with the title of king, and giving it to his imperial majesty; to which the first-mentioned prince was obliged to submit, because he saw plainly, that if he did not consent to yield this kingdom to the emperor, he should either have it taken from him by force, or lose it to the Spaniards, from whom Sardinia was, by our plan, to be taken and bestowed on the duke of Savoy, in exchange for Sicily^c.

In this critical situation things were, when the parliament met on the 21st of November, 1717; and, on the 2d of December following, they granted, as the custom had been of late years, 10,000 seamen for the year 1718, and 224,837 l. 14 s. 11 d.

^c Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 562. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 660. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 188, 189.

for the ordinary of the navy. But, as this would by no means answer the designs that had been formed by the administration, the king was prevailed upon to send a message to the house of commons on the 17th of March, conceived in the following terms^d:

“GEORGE REX.

“His majesty being at present engaged in several negotiations, of the utmost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, does think fit to acquaint this house therewith; not doubting, but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house will at their next meeting provide for such exceeding.”

This message was brought to the house by Mr. Boscawen, and an address, promising to make good such exceedings as were mentioned, if they should be found necessary, was moved for by Sir William Strickland, and agreed to, without a division; which was extremely agreeable to the court^e. The next day the king thought fit to make some alterations at the navy-board; and, accordingly, James, earl of Berkley, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager, were declared commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, Ireland, &c. the right honourable James, earl of Berkley, appointed vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq; rear-admiral of Great Britain, who was soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland^f.

^d Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 150, 180.

^e Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 111, 112. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 658. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 561.

^f Historical register for 1718, p. 11. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 377. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 80.

While these steps were taking, a great number of large ships were put into commission, and such other measures pursued, as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out, would not prove a fleet of parade. The Spanish minister here, M. de Monteleone, who was a man of foresight and intrigue, being alarmed at these appearances, represented in a memorial, dated the 18th of March, 1718, "That so powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not but cause umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good intelligence that reigned between the two crowns." The king answered, "That it was not his intention to conceal the subject of that armament; and that he designed soon to send admiral Byng, with a powerful squadron, into the Mediterranean Sea, in order to maintain the neutrality of Italy, against those who should seek to disturb it." The reason assigned for acting with so much vigour, was the dispositions made in Spain for attacking the island of Sicily, and the hardships that were put upon the British merchants. Cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head of the Spanish affairs, defended himself, and the measures he had taken, with great spirit, endeavouring to make the world believe, that the Spanish expedition against the island of Sicily was not so much a matter of choice, as of necessity. I should wrong that able minister extremely, if I should endeavour to give his sense in any other words than his own; and, therefore, I have preserved his letter upon this subject^a; which

is

^s Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 562. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 166. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxiv. p. 467.

^a The letter referred to in the text was written by cardinal Alberoni to the marquis de Berretti Landi, his Catholic majesty's ambassador to the States General, who communicated it to their high mightinesses. The reader will easily perceive, that this letter falls a good deal later in point of time, than where I place it; but, as it contains the reasons of the Sicilian expedition, I thought it came in best for my purpose here.

"I acquaint your excellency, that my lord Stanhope set out the 26th of this month from the court at the Escorial for Madrid; whence he was to proceed in his journey to Paris; having seen proofs sufficient, during his stay here, of the constancy and firmness with which the king rejected the project of the prince's mediators, and the suspension of arms last proposed. He

learned

is so much the more curious, as no notice at all is taken of it, in some late accounts of this expedition.

“ learned from their majesties own mouths, in two long conferences, to which he had the honour to be admitted, that they detested that project, as unjust, prejudicial, and offensive to their honour; I told him, that I did not comprehend what motive could induce the confederated powers to admit the duke of Savoy into their alliance; not only considering of what little use he will be to them, but because it is certain those powers have no need of the troops of Savoy, unless that prince will maintain them at his own expence, which will be very difficult to obtain.

“ As for Sicily, I declared to my lord Stanhope, in the presence of the marquis de Nancré, that France and Great Britain had of themselves, and none else whatever, induced the king to recover that kingdom; for both these courts had assured his majesty, that the duke of Savoy was treating with the arch-duke to give up to him that island, if he would accept of it; but that he had refused it, considering it would be better for him to receive it by the disposition of the powers mediators, and with the consent of Spain, because in that case he would have the advantage to obtain it by a more just and more authentic title; besides the assurance of keeping it by the favour of so powerful a guaranty. I likewise shewed my lord Stanhope, that the arch-duke being master of Sicily, all Italy will become slaves to the Germans, and the powers of Europe not be able to set her at liberty. And, that the Germans in the last war, with a small body of troops, wade head, and disputed the ground against two crowns, which had formidable armies in Lombardy, were masters of the country, and a great number of considerable places. I also represented to him very clearly, that, to make war in Lombardy was to make it in a labyrinth, and that it was the fatal burial place of the French and English. That every year of the last war cost France 18,000 or 20,000 recruits, and above fifteen millions: that the duke of Vendôme, at the time things went prosperously, said, that if the war in Italy lasted, the two crowns must indispensibly abandon that province, because of the immense charge. That, according to the engagements now proposed, the secours of Great Britain are far off, and impracticable, and that the rest would cost a potosi, enough to ruin a kingdom. That at present those of France are impossible, and would be generally opposed by the nation. That the arch-duke would triumph with all these advantages, and England not recover the least re-imbursement; when, on the contrary, she might gain considerably, by siding with Spain. In conclusion, I told lord Stanhope plainly, that the proposition of giving Sicily to the arch-duke was absolutely fatal; and that of settling bounds afterwards to his vast designs, a mere dream and illusion, since that prince, being possessed of Sicily, would have no farther need either of France or England, for bringing immediately the rest of Italy under subjection; and no power would be in a condition to oppose it. This is the substance of all the conferences my lord Stanhope had, and your excellency may make use of it as occasion shall offer.”

About

About the middle of the month of March, Sir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the Squadron intended for the Mediterranean; and, on the 24th of May following, he received his instructions, which were to this purpose. "That he should, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the king of Spain, and likewise the viceroy of Naples, and governor of Milan, he was sent into that sea, in order to promote all measures that might best contribute to the composing the differences arisen between the two crowns, and for preventing any farther violation of the neutrality of Italy, which he was to see preserved. That he was to make instances to both parties to forbear all acts of hostility, in order to the setting on foot, and concluding the proper negociations of peace. But, in case the Spaniards should still persist to attack the emperor's territory in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy for that purpose, or should endeavour to make themselves masters of the island of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with all his power, to hinder and obstruct the same; but, if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and to offer them his assistance to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hostility; but, if his friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories attacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships, convoys, or (if necessary) by opposing them openly." It is evident that these instructions were not of the clearest kind; but, it seems, they were explained to him before-hand, by the great men who had then the direction of all things, as appears by a letter which is still preserved, and which I have placed in the notes¹.

The

¹ The letter referred to in the text, is from Mr Secretary Cragg, immediately before his embarkation; it is preserved by the accurate historian of this expedition, in his appendix, p. 208, of his original edition; from whence I have transcribed it, as a full proof that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the ministers.

"SIR,

Cockpit, May 27, O. S. 1718.

"I inclose to you his majesty's instructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

"After

The admiral sailed the 15th of June, 1718, from Spithead with twenty ships of the line of battle, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship^k. Being gone into the ocean, he sent the *Rupert* to Lisbon for intelligence; and arriving the 30th off Cape St. Vincent, he dispatched the *Superbe* to Cadiz, with a gentleman, who carried a letter from him to colonel Stanhope, (the late earl of Harrington), the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under with his squadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

The envoy shewed the letter to the cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, "That his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or consent to any suspension of arms;" adding, "That the Spaniards were not to be frightened, and he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the success." Mr. Stanhope having in his hand a list of the British squadron, desired his eminence to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own squadron; which the cardinal took and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him "To consider the sincere attention the king, his master, had to the honour and interest of his Catholic majesty, which it was impossible for him to give greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied en-

"After what passed yesterday between my lord Sunderland, my lord Stanhope, you and me, when we were together at lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me, but to wish you a good voyage, and success in your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am, with great truth,

"SIR,

"Your most obedient,

"Humble servant;

"J. CRAGGS."

^k Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 366. Columna rostrata, p. 302. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 151. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxx. p. 100, 101.

"deavours

“ deavours through the whole course of the present negocia-
 “ tion, to procure the most advantageous conditions possible for
 “ Spain, in which he had succeeded even beyond what any un-
 “ prejudiced person could have hoped for; and that, though
 “ by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, which
 “ was entered into at the request of the king of Spain himself,
 “ as also by that of Westminster, the 25th of May, 1716, his
 “ majesty found himself obliged to defend the emperor’s domi-
 “ nions when attacked; he had hitherto only acted as a media-
 “ tor, though, ever since the enterprize against Sardinia, by his
 “ treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year last
 “ past had been strongly called upon by the emperor to com-
 “ ply with his engagements; and that, even now, when it was
 “ impossible for him to delay any longer the sending his fleet
 “ into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the admiral’s
 “ instructions, which he communicated to his eminence, and
 “ by the orders he had himself received, that his majesty had
 “ nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed
 “ in promoting the interests of the king of Spain, and hoped
 “ his Catholic majesty would not, by refusing to recal his troops,
 “ or consent to a cessation of arms, put it out of his power to
 “ give all the proofs of sincere friendship he always designed
 “ to cultivate with his Catholic majesty.”

All that the cardinal could be brought to promise was, to lay
 the admiral’s letter before the king¹, and to let the envoy know
 his resolution upon it in two days: but it was nine before he
 could obtain and send it away; the cardinal probably hoping,
 that the admiral would delay taking vigorous measures in ex-
 pectation of it, and perhaps put into some of the ports of
 Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to se-
 cure a good footing in Sicily. The answer was wrote under
 the admiral’s letter in these words: “ His Catholic majesty
 “ has done me the honour to tell me, that the chevalier

¹ Oldmixon’s history of England, vol. ii. p. 661. Tindal’s continuation of
 Rapin, *ubi supra* Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 189. See Mr. Secretary
 Craggs’s letter to the marquis de Monteleone, in the historical register for 1718,
 p. 307.

" Byng may execute the orders which he has from the king's
" master.

" The cardinal ALBERONI."^m

Escorial, July 15, 1718.

Mr. Stanhope seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English consuls, and merchants settled in the Spanish sea-ports, advising them to secure their effects against the dangers that might arise from a breach between the two crowns. This shewed plainly enough, that our minister was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of the administration at home, who, notwithstanding they steadily pursued these warlike measures, as constantly adhered to their first resolution, of throwing the weight of this rupture, if possible, on the court of Spainⁿ. With this view, Lord Stanhope set out himself for Madrid, in order to make new propositions to his Catholic majesty; which, if accepted, might prevent things from coming to extremities; in which negociation he actually laboured till very near the time that hostilities were begun; but to no purpose, for cardinal Alberoni was as much bent on executing his own scheme, as the British ministry could be with regard to theirs; and therefore rejected all the proposals that were made him, with a firmness that was styled inflexibility by his enemies^o.

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the

^m See the account of the expedition of the British fleet to Sicily, p. 8. As this is collected very fairly from original papers, I depend upon it as to facts; but have endeavoured to state them with concurring evidence, in a manner more suitable to this history, in which I desire to be considered in no other light than as a lover of truth, independent of complaisance or party.

ⁿ M. de St. Philippe memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Espagne, tome iii. p. 268, 269.

^o Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 7. Lord Stanhope arrived at Madrid on the 12th of August, and on the 14th had a long conference with the cardinal at the Escorial, which gave him great hopes of success; but, it seems, the news which that court received a few days after, from Sicily, so elevated the prime minister, that all prospect of a pacification vanished, which his lordship no sooner perceived, than he left Spain as soon as possible, having his audience of leave on the 26th of the same month. *Mercurius historicus et politicus*, tome liv. p. 368.

Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of June to the eastward. In passing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out of that port and joined him, with the Argyle and Charles galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having completed their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the soldiers there in the garrison, who were to embark and serve on board the squadron. On the 23d of July he anchored with the squadron off Port Mahon: here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen the 30th of June, within forty leagues off Naples, steering S. E. upon which he dispatched away expresses to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and having shifted the garrisons of Minorca, he sailed from thence the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the first of August in the bay of Naples^p.

One need not wonder that the German government was extremely well pleased at the admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, since it is very certain, that his coming so luckily preserved that kingdom for the house of Austria, which had otherwise, in all probability, shared the fate of Sicily; that the marquis de Lede had conquered almost as soon as he landed, or rather his landing gave people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, though it had lost its sovereignty over them, had still preserved their affections^q.

^p Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 567. Columns rostrata, p. 302, 303. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxxv. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 876.

^q The imperial viceroy of Naples presented Sir George with a sword set with diamonds, and a very rich staff of command; and to the admiral's son he made a present of a very fine sword. After the conference the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged in the palace of the duke de Matelona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The viceroy likewise sent refreshments to the fleet, consisting of a hundred oxen, three hundred sheep, six hundred pounds of sugar, seventy hogsheds of brandy, and several other things.

This news alarmed the viceroy of Naples, who had now no hopes but from the defence that might be made by the citadel of Messina; and from that he could have no great confidence, since it was garrisoned by the duke of Savoy's troops, who could not be supposed to interest themselves much in preserving a place which their master was to part with so soon. The viceroy, therefore, wisely considered how he might make the best use of the British fleet and his own forces; upon which he came at last to this prudent resolution, which was, to embark 2000 German foot under the command of general Wetzels, who were to take possession of the citadel of Messina, and fort Salvador, in pursuance of an agreement with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so, as that he might get something for it. These German forces were to be escorted by the British fleet, which sailed for that purpose from Naples on the 6th of August, and arrived on the 9th in view of the Faro of Messina^r.

The Spanish army, after having taken the city last-mentioned, were now encamped before the citadel, which the troops, under the protection of Sir George Byng, were going to relieve. It was therefore highly likely that an action would ensue; and for this reason it was thought requisite to put on still a peaceable appearance, in order to throw the blame upon the Spaniards; which, however, was pretty difficult to do, since, with respect to the treaty of Utrecht, (the only treaty of which the Spaniards could take any notice), the Germans were as much invaders as they, and consequently the escorting an invasion seemed to be an odd way of conserving a neutrality^s. This step, however, was necessary

^r M. de St. Philippe memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Espagne, tome iii. p. 295.

^s As our ministers, in conjunction with those of the emperor and France, were at great pains to inspire all Europe with the utmost horror for cardinal Alberoni, so that minister, than whom perhaps there never was an abler politician, thought fit, on his side, to publish several pieces, in order to shew, that the present dispute was not between the English and Spanish nations, but between the English ministry, who would give law to the king of Spain, and the Spanish nation, that were determined not to receive it. Amongst these the following manifesto was thought the most remarkable, and will serve to give the reader a clear idea of the manner in which the court of Spain would have had this affair understood. It is a letter written by the cardinal to the M. de Brette Landi; but the reader

necessary to be taken; and the admiral, who in point of good sense and good breeding was as able a man as any in his time, did it with a very good grace.

He

reader will see by the close of it, why I style it a manifesto; in which light it was also considered by our court, as appears by secretary Craggs's letter to the Spanish minister, dated from Hampton-court, Sept. 4, 1718, in which he complains loudly of this proceeding, as if intended to excite the merchants to dissatisfaction towards the government.

"SIR,

"It is notorious every where, that the ministry of Great Britain, being pre-
 "possessed by their passions and private views, have endeavoured, by all ima-
 "ginable means, to insinuate into the English nation an entire distrust and aversion
 "for Spain, to engage the said nation to pursue the maxims of that ministry,
 "which are so prejudicial and contrary to the common good. It is known, that
 "of late the government of England hath used their utmost endeavours to per-
 "suade the nation, that the application and designs of Spain were to increase
 "considerably her naval forces, to oppose the commerce which all nations in
 "general carry on with the Indies, notwithstanding the two last treaties; and
 "the religious observation of his majesty's royal word ought to convince
 "the English of the artifice with which those rumours are spread, and which are
 "contrived only to excite distrust and disunion with the Spaniards; and every
 "man of sound judgment will reflect, that God has put the Indies into the
 "power of that monarchy, to the end that all nations might partake of that ad-
 "vantage: however, it is the king's will, that, for the greater proof of the fir-
 "cere desire he has to maintain the public tranquillity, and for dispelling re-
 "ports so pernicious to the quiet of the subjects of Spain and England, your ex-
 "cellency should assure the English merchants that are in Holland, and all those
 "who are concerned in commerce, that his majesty will never alter the establish-
 "ed laws, nor ever infringe the treaties which the English nation enjoy, with so
 "great benefit, by his generosity; and that the naval forces of Spain are to con-
 "sist only of a limited number, that may be sufficient to secure her coasts in the
 "Mediterranean, and to defend and convoy her galleons. For a proof of what
 "his majesty orders me to say to your excellency, a new conjuncture just now
 "offers itself, in which the king my master, to signalize his love of the British
 "nation, passes by without resentment the contents of the paper here subjoin-
 "ed, which is a copy of that delivered by Mr. Stanhope, and by which an open
 "rupture is declared, if the project be not accepted; and they offer to oblige
 "the king to it by threats. On the contrary, his majesty, instead of being pro-
 "voked at such a proceeding, has ordered, as an instance of the good faith with
 "which he hath always acted, that the effects and merchandize of the English,
 "which are in the flota that is newly arrived at Cadiz from the Indies, shall not
 "be touched, nor any charge made in relation to them, it being the king's in-
 "tention, that what belongs to each of the English merchants respectively should
 "be delivered to them. The resolution is very different from the rumours
 "which the British ministry spreads, and is an incontestible proof, that the king's

"will

He sent for this purpose his first captain, who was captain Saunders, with a letter to the marquis de Lede, in which he acquainted him, "That the king his master, being engaged by several treaties to preserve the tranquillity of Italy, had honoured him with the command of a squadron of ships, which he had sent into these seas, and that he came fully empowered and instructed to promote such measures as might best accommodate all differences between the powers concerned; that his majesty was employing his utmost endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of success. He therefore proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace:" but added, "That, if he was not so happy to succeed in this offer of service, nor to be instrumental in bringing about so desirable a work, he then hoped to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend."

The next morning the captain returned with the general's answer, "That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person to contribute to so laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of consequence agree to any suspension of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his master's arms might be put to, but should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master the king of Spain: that he had a true sense of his accomplished expressions; but his master's forces would always be universally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the preservation of their credit, in which cases the success did not always answer the ideas that were formed for it."

"will ever inclines him to promote the benefit of that nation. His majesty orders, that your excellency read this letter to all English merchants in general, as also the contents of the paper hereunto annexed, and that you assure them, that the king will firmly maintain the treaty, preferring the advantages of the British nation to all other satisfaction, and hoping that, in return, men so wise, so prudent, and so intelligent, will not let themselves be drawn away by the persuasions, and for the private ends of the English ministry, which are entirely fatal to the peace of the two nations and of the two kingdoms.

"I am, &c."

I take this literally from the history of the expedition before cited.

According

According to the best accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude that the Spanish fleet was sailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's answer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel; but as he stood in about the point of the Faro, towards Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time, by a felucca that came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and sending away general Wetzet with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for about noon he had a fair sight of their whole fleet, lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men of war, small and great, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, seven galleys, and several ships laden with stores and provisions, commanded by the admiral don Antonio de Casteneta, and under him four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock; on the sight of the English squadron they stood away large, but in good order of battle^a.

The admiral followed them all the rest of that day and the succeeding night, with small gales N. E. and sometimes calm, with fair weather; the next morning early (the 11th) the English being got pretty near them^b, the marquis de Mari, rear-admiral,

^a M. de St. Philippe *memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Espagne*, tome iii. p. 297, 298, 299.

^b It is evident from hence that our admiral had no intention to decline fighting; and the following letter from earl Stanhope, then secretary of state, plainly proves it was not the intention of those who sent him that he should decline fighting. It is a curious piece, and very well worthy of the reader's notice, as it tends to explain the great view of this expedition.

" Bayonne, September 2, 1718.

" Being arrived here last night, in six days from Madrid, I do, in pursuance of the commands I have from his majesty, take this first opportunity of acquainting you, that nothing has passed at Madrid which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have.

" If

admiral, with six Spanish men of war, and all the gallees, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which the admiral detached captain Walton in the Canterbury, with five more ships after them; and the Argyle fired a shot to bring her to; but she not minding it, the Argyle fired a second, and the Canterbury, being something nearer, fired a third; upon which the Spanish ship fired her stern-chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began *.

The admiral pursuing the main body of the Spanish fleet, the Orford, captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, captain Haddock, came up first with them, about ten of the clock; at whom the Spaniards fired their stern-chace guns. The admiral sent orders to those two ships not to fire, unless the Spaniards repeated their firing, which, as soon as they did, the Orford attacked the Santa Rosa, of sixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos, of sixty guns, struck next, without much opposition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Asturias, of seventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland; in which was rear-admiral Chacon; but the Breda and Captain coming up, captain Haddock left that ship, much shattered; for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his starboard bow during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one

“ If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the citadel of Messina is taken, be not true, or if, notwithstanding the Spaniards have that port, their fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, should not have got into the harbour, and that you have an opportunity of attacking them, I am persuaded you will not let such an occasion slip; and I agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary Craggs, that the first blow you give, should, if possible, be decisive.

“ The two great objects, which, I think, we ought to have in view, are, to destroy their fleet, if possible, and to preserve such a footing in Sicily as may enable us to land an army there.”

* See the line of battle, inserted at the end of this relation. It was undoubtedly an act of rashness in cardinal Alberoni to give any fighting orders to the Spanish admiral, if he did give them. But from what is here said, the contrary is the most probable; indeed, the resolution of the Spanish admirals seems to prove, they were not guided by any orders; if so, we must conclude they acted from a principle of self preservation, and fought only because they were forced to it.

o'clock

o'clock the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, captain Master, came up with, and engaged the Spanish admiral of seventy-four guns, who, with two ships more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three; and then the Kent, bearing down under his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to leeward afterwards; the Superbe, putting forward to lay the admiral a-board, fell on his weather-quarter; upon which, the Spanish admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged under his lee-quarter; on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being a-stern of the Spanish admiral, within shot, and inclining on his weather-quarter; rear-admiral Guevara and another sixty-gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapped upon a wind, standing in for land. The admiral immediately tacked and stood after them until it was almost night, but it being little wind, and they hauling away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood in to the fleet, which he joined two hours after night¹.

The Essex took the Juno of thirty-six guns, the Montague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and rear-admiral Delaval, in the Dorsetshire, took the Isabella of sixty guns. The action happened off Cape Passaro, at about six leagues distance from the shore². The English received but little

¹ Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 563. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 568. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 12. *Columna rostrata*, p. 303—305. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome lxx. p. 339.

² A LIST of the British fleet under the command of Sir George Byng, in the action off Cape Passaro in Sicily, in the year 1718.

Ships.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
Barfleur,	{ Admiral Byng, 1 George Saunders, 2 Richard Lestock; }	730	90
Shrewsbury,	{ Vice-admiral Cornwall, John Balchen, }	545	80
Dorsetshire,	{ Rear-admiral Delaval, John Furger, }	535	70
Burford,	Charles Vanebough,	440	70
Essex,	Richard Rowzier,	440	70
Grafton,	Nicholas Haddock,	440	70
Lenox,	Charles Stickleland,	440	70
Carried over		3570	520

little damage: the ship that suffered most was the *Grafton*, which being a good sailer, her captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships he had disabled or damaged to be taken by those that followed him. The admiral lay by some days at sea to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages which the prizes had sustained; and the 18th received a letter from captain Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that escaped. The letter is singular enough in its kind to deserve notice, and therefore the historian of this expedition has, with great judgment, preserved it. Thus it runs:

“ S I R,

“ We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as *per* margin.

“ I am, &c.

Canterbury, off Syracuse,
Aug. 26, 1718.

“ G. WALTON.”

These ships that captain Walton thrust into his margin would have furnished matter for some pages in a French relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared, that he had taken four Spanish men of war, one of sixty guns, com-

Ships.	Captains.	Men.		Guns.
		Brought over		
Ereda,	Barrow Harris,	440		70
Orford,	Edward Falkingham,	440		70
Kent,	Thomas Matthews,	440		70
Royal Oak,	Thomas Kempthorne,	440		70
Captain,	Archibald Hamilton,	440		70
Canterbury,	George Walton,	365		60
Dreadnought,	William Haddock,	365		60
Rippon,	Christopher Obrian,	365		60
Superbe,	Streynsham Master,	365		60
Rupert,	Arthur Field,	365		60
Dunkirk,	Francis Drake,	365		60
Montagué,	Thomas Beverly,	365		60
Rochester,	Joseph Winder,	280		50
Argyle,	Coningsby Norbury,	280		50
		8885		1400
				manded:

manded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel^a. Such is the account given of this famous action by our admiral: the Spaniards published likewise an account on their side, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great industry throughout all Europe, in order to make such impressions as might serve their purpose, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly, but had been surprised and destroyed without that kind of notice which the laws of nature and nations require, to distinguish force of arms from piratical violence. It is but just in any cause to hear both parties, and the office of an historian obliges him to record whatever may give light to the events of that period he pretends to illustrate by his writings. For this reason I have thought it requisite to give place here to the Spanish account without curtailing or disguising it^b.

“ On the 9th of August, in the morning, the English squadron was discovered near the tower of Faro, which lay by
 “ towards night, off Cape Della Metelle, over-against the said
 “ tower. The Spanish squadron was then in the Streight, and
 “ some ships and frigates were sent to other places; besides the
 “ detachment commanded by admiral Guevara. And, as the

^a This account is taken from the several letters written by the admiral, or published with his authority; and from hence it is visible, that the entire destruction of the Spanish maritime power was the principal point in view, and, as such, pursued with equal steadiness and vigour; and, at the same time, abundance of pamphlets were published here, to shew the expediency of this measure, and the benefits that would result to Great Britain from this destruction of the naval power of Spain. The Spaniards, on the other hand, filled all the world with complaints of our insincerity and ambition. Before the blow was struck, said they, the English pretended to be guardians of the neutrality of Italy, and to have armed only for the sake of preserving peace; but, now they have accomplished their ends, they avow them, and say plainly, that they were resolved not to suffer Spain to revive her maritime power. In what chapter of the law of nations do we read of this right of prevention?

^b There are many things in this relation more agreeable to the Spanish humour than to truth; but, however, by the comparison of this with our admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained which otherwise might have been buried in obscurity.

" intention of the English in coming so near was not known,
 " the admirals of the Spanish squadron resolved to go out of
 " the Streight, to join together near Cape Spartivento, carry-
 " ing along with them the transports laden with provisions,
 " that they might penetrate the better into the designs of the
 " English; the rather, because the officer whom Sir George
 " Byng had sent to the marquis de Lede was not yet returned.
 " The said officer had orders to propose to the said marquis a
 " suspension of arms for two months; upon which the said
 " marquis answered him, that he could not do it without or-
 " ders from court. Nevertheless, though it was believed that
 " the alternative was taken of sending a courier to Madrid
 " with the said proposal, the English squadron took the oppor-
 " tunity of night to surprise the Spanish squadron, and to im-
 " prove those advantages which were owing to dissimulation.

" The said English squadron, on the 10th in the morning,
 " advanced farther into the Faro, and was saluted by all the
 " Spanish ships and vessels which were there; and it is to be
 " observed, that admiral Byng having convoyed some trans-
 " port-vessels as far as Rixoles, with the arch-duke's troops,
 " the officer dispatched to the marquis de Lede affirmed, that
 " it was not to commit any act of hostility, but only that the
 " said transports might be secured from insults under his pro-
 " tection.

" The Spanish squadron sent two light frigates to get intel-
 " ligence of the English squadron; and though they saw the
 " English made all the sail they could (their intention being
 " not known) to approach the Spanish squadron, whose admi-
 " ral knew not then whether the English came as friends or
 " enemies, yet the Spaniards, being two leagues from the Eng-
 " lish, resolved to retire towards Cape Passaro, but without
 " making much sail, that it might not be thought they suspect-
 " ed any hostilities. During this a calm happened, by which
 " the ships of both squadrons fell in one among another; and
 " the Spanish admiral, perceiving this accident, caused the ships
 " of the line to be towed, in order to separate them from the
 " English, and join them in one body, without permitting the
 " galleys to begin any act of hostility; which they might have
 " done to their advantage during the calm. The weather
 " changed

“ changed when the marquis de Mari was near land, and by
“ consequence separated from the rest, making the rear-guard,
“ with several frigates, and other transport-vessels, which
“ made up his division, and endeavoured, though in vain, to
“ join the main body of the Spanish Squadron, while the Eng-
“ lish held on their way, their dissimulation, filling their sails
“ to gain the wind, and cut off the said division of the said
“ marquis de Mari; and having at last succeeded in it, they at-
“ tacked him with six ships, and obliged him to separate from
“ the rest of the Squadron, and to make towards the coast,
“ where they stood it against seven ships of the line, as long as
“ the situation permitted; and being no longer able to resist,
“ the marquis de Mari saved his men, by running his ships a-
“ ground, some of which were burnt by his own order, and
“ others taken by the enemy.

“ Seventeen ships of the line, the remainder of the English
“ Squadron, attacked the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of A-
“ sturias, the St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, St. Isabella, St. Pe-
“ dro, and the frigates St. Rosa, Pearl, Juno, and Volante,
“ which continued making towards Cape Passaro; and as they
“ retired in a line, because of the inequality of their strength,
“ the English attacked those that composed the rear-guard,
“ with four or five ships, and took them; and this happened
“ successively to the others, which, notwithstanding all the sail
“ they made, could not avoid being beaten; insomuch, that
“ every Spanish ship being attacked separately by five, six, or
“ seven of theirs, after a bloody and obstinate fight, they made
“ themselves masters at last of the Royal St. Philip, the Prince
“ of Asturias, the St. Charles, the St. Isabella, St. Rosa, the
“ Volante, and the Juno.

“ While the Royal St. Philip was engaged with the English,
“ the rear-admiral of the Squadron, don Balthazar de Guevara,
“ returned from Malta with two ships of the line, and turning
“ his prow towards the St. Philip, passed by the English ships
“ which were a-breast of him, firing upon each of them, and
“ then attacked admiral Byng's ships, which followed the St.
“ Philip, and retired in the night, being very much damaged;
“ for after the engagement, he stayed three or four days fifty
“ leagues at sea, not only to repair the Spanish ships, which he

had

“ had taken, and were all shattered to pieces; but also to make
 “ good the damages which himself had suffered; wherefore
 “ he could not enter Syracusa till the 16th or 17th of August,
 “ and that with a great deal of difficulty.

“ The particulars of the action are, that the whole division
 “ of the English admiral, which consisted of seven ships of the
 “ line, and a fire-ship, having attacked the Royal St. Philip,
 “ at two in the afternoon the fight began, by a ship of seventy
 “ guns, and another of sixty, from which he received two
 “ broadsides; and advancing towards the Royal St. Philip,
 “ don Antonio de Castaneta defended himself so well, that the
 “ said two ships retired, and two others, viz. one of eighty
 “ guns, and the other of seventy, renewed the attack; and
 “ the said ship of eighty guns retired very much shattered,
 “ without making into the line; but others making towards the
 “ Spanish admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impossi-
 “ ble for him to hurt them, and shot away all his rigging,
 “ without leaving him one entire sail, while two others, one
 “ of thirty, and the other of sixty guns, attacked the star-
 “ board of his ship, to oblige him to surrender; but defending
 “ himself till the English admiral was resolved to board him,
 “ and carried a fire-ship to reduce him by the flames, which
 “ the Spanish commander prevented; but after having lost 200
 “ men, and maintained the fight till towards night, don Anto-
 “ nio de Castaneta received a shot which pierced his left leg,
 “ and wounded his right heel. Yet, nevertheless he continued
 “ to defend himself till a cannon-bullet having cut a man in
 “ two, the pieces of which fell upon him, and left him half
 “ dead, he was forced to surrender.

“ The Prince of Asturias, commanded by don Fernando
 “ Chacon, was at the same time attacked by three ships of
 “ equal force, against which he defended himself valiantly,
 “ avoiding being boarded, till, being wounded, and having lost
 “ most of his men, he was obliged to surrender his ship,
 “ which was all shot through and through, after having shot
 “ down the masts of an English ship that retired out of the
 “ fight.

“ Captain don Antonio Gonfales, commander of the frigate
 “ St. Rosa, defended himself above three hours against five
 “ English

“ English ships, who did not take him till after they had
“ broke all his sails and masts.

“ The *Volante*, commanded by captain don Antonio Escu-
“ dero, knight of the order of Malta, fought three hours and
“ a half against three English ships; and having lost his sails,
“ he put up others that were in store, and was just going to
“ board one of the three ships that attacked him; but his own
“ being shot through and through by six cannon bullets, and
“ the water coming in, he was obliged to surrender, because
“ the ship's crew forced him.

“ The *Juno* was engaged also by three English ships; yet
“ maintained the fight above three hours, not surrendering till
“ after most of her men were killed, and the ship just falling
“ in pieces.

“ Captain don Gabriel Alderete, also defended the frigate
“ called the *Pearl*, against three English ships for three hours;
“ and after having shot down the masts of one, which imme-
“ diately retired, he was relieved by admiral don Balthazar de
“ Guevara, and had the good fortune to escape to Malta.

“ Captain don Andrea Reggio, knight of the order of Mal-
“ ta, who was farthest advanced with the ship the *Isabella*,
“ was pursued all that night by several English ships; and, af-
“ ter having defended himself for four hours, he surrendered
“ the next day.

“ The frigate called the *Surprize*, which was of the marquis
“ de Mari's division, and by consequence farther advanced than
“ the others, was attacked by three English ships, and main-
“ tained a fight for three hours, till the captain don Michael
“ de Sada, knight of the order of St. John, being wounded,
“ most of her men killed, and all her rigging spoiled, she was
“ forced to surrender.

“ The other light ships and frigates of the Spanish squa-
“ dron, not already mentioned, retired to Malta and Sardi-
“ nia; as did also the admiral don Balthazar de Guevara, with
“ his two ships *St. Lewis* and *St. John*, after having been en-
“ gaged with the English admiral, and having rescued the fri-
“ gate called the *Pearl*.

“ It

“ It must not be forgot, that the marines in every ship
 “ signalized and distinguished themselves with a great deal of
 “ valour, they being composed of the nobility of Spain.

“ The seven galleys which were under the command of ad-
 “ miral don Francisco de Grimaó, having done all that was
 “ possible to join the Spanish ships, seeing that there was still
 “ a fresh gale of wind, retired to Palermo.

“ Besides the above-mentioned ships, which the English took
 “ out of the main body of the Spanish squadron, they also
 “ made themselves masters of the Royal, and of two frigates,
 “ St. Isidore, and the Eagle; those that were burnt by the or-
 “ der of the marquis de Mari, are two bomb-galleys, a fire-
 “ ship, and the Esperanca frigate, so that the ships which es-
 “ caped out of the battle are the following: St. Lewis, St.
 “ John, St. Ferdinand, and St. Peter; and the frigates Her-
 “ mione, Pearl, Galera, Porcupine, Thoulouse, Lyon, Little
 “ St. John, the Arrow, Little St. Ferdinand, a bomb-galley,
 “ and a ship of Pintado.

“ This is the account of the sea-fight which was at the
 “ height of Abola, or the Gulf of l'Ariga, in the canal of
 “ Malta, between the Spanish and English squadrons, the last
 “ of which, by ill faith, and the superiority of their strength,
 “ had the advantage to beat the Spanish ships singly; one by
 “ one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards
 “ made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have
 “ ended more happily for them.

“ Immediately after the fight, a captain of the English squa-
 “ dron came, in the name of admiral Byng, to make a com-
 “ pliment of excuse to the marquis de Lede, giving him to un-
 “ derstand, that the Spaniards had been the aggressors, and
 “ that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture,
 “ because the English did not take it as such. To which it was
 “ answered, that Spain on the contrary will reckon it a formal
 “ rupture; and that they would do the English all the damages
 “ and hostilities imaginable, by giving orders to begin with re-
 “ prisals; and, in consequence of this, several Spanish vessels,
 “ and

"and Guevara's Squadron, have already taken some English ships."

A LIST of the SPANISH FLEET, in the action off Cape Passaro, in the year 1718, under the command of DON ANTONIO DE CASTANETA, including two ships which were amongst those that captain WALTON destroyed, on the coast of Sicily.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	GUNS.
St. Philip, the	Admiral Castaneta, taken	650	74
Prince of Asturias	Rear-admiral Chacon, taken	550	70
The Royal	Rear-admiral Mari, taken	400	60
St. Lewis	Rear-admiral Guevara, escaped	400	60
St. Ferdinand	Rear-admiral Cammock, escaped; } sunk afterwards at Messina Mole	400	60
St. Carlos	Prince de Chalay, taken	400	60
Sancta Isabella	Don Andrea Rezio, taken	400	60
Sancta Rosa	Don Antonio Gonfales, taken	400	60
St. John Baptist	Don Francisco Gerrens, escaped	400	60
St. Peter	Don Antonio Arrisago, escaped, } afterwards lost in the gulf of Tarenio	400	60
Pearl	Don Gabriel Alderete, escaped	300	50
	_____, burnt	300	50
St. Isidore	Don Manuel villa Vicentia, taken	300	46
L'Esperanza	Don Juan Delfino and Barlandi, } burnt	300	46
Volante	Don Antonio Escudera, taken	300	44
	_____, burnt	300	44
Harmonia	Don Rodrigo de Torres, escaped, } sunk afterwards in Messina Mole	300	44
Porcupine	A Frenchman, escaped	250	44
Surprise	Don Michael de Sada, knight of } Malta, taken	250	36
Juno	Don Pedro Moyano, taken	250	36
La Galera	Don Francisco Alverera, escaped	200	30
La Castilla	Don Francisco Lenio, knight of } Malta, escaped	200	30
Count de Thoulouse	Don Joseph Jocuua, escaped, taken } in Messina Mole	200	30
Tyget	Don — Covaigne, taken	240	26
Eagle	Don Lucas Masnata, taken	240	24
St. Francis Areres	— Jacob, a Scotsman, escaped	100	22
Little St. Ferdinand	_____, escaped	150	20
Little St. John	Don Ignatio Vaievale, escaped, ta- } ken afterwards	150	20
Arrow	Don Juan Papajeni, escaped	100	18
		3850	1284

There is no question to be made, but that both these relations retain some tincture of the passions and prejudices of those who drew them up; and it is no less certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was indifferently founded. For the truth is, that their fleet, though strong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ships being old, their artillery none of the best, and their seamen most of them not to be depended upon^d. Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their admirals defended themselves gallantly; so that, upon the whole, their defeat may be charged upon their irresolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them.

I mean that of rear-admiral Cammock, an Irish gentleman, who had served long in our navy, and who was (to speak impartially), a much better seaman than any who bore command in the Spanish fleet. He knew perfectly well the strength of both parties, and saw plainly, that nothing could save the Spaniards but a wise disposition; and therefore, in the last council of war held before the battle, he proposed, that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the English admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coast there is so bold, that their biggest ships could ride with a cable a-shore, and farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that it would be hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor, or ly. by them in order of battle. Besides, they might have lain so near the shore, and could have received so great reinforcements of soldiers from the army to man and defend them, and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given, from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been an hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spa-

^d M. de St. Philippe memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Espagne, tome iii. p. 297, where he says the same that I do, and blames their admiral Castaneta, for losing three days, in which time he might have reached Malta, and thereby saved the whole Spanish fleet.

admirals would have had many advantages, and the English admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear^c. The Spanish admirals were too much persuaded of their own strength, and the courage of their seamen, or else they foolishly depended on their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they slighted this salutary counsel, and were thereby undone.

As soon as admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole transaction, he dispatched away his eldest son to England^d, who, arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand^e. Mr. Byng met with a most gracious reception from his majesty, who made him

^c This was the sentiment of admiral Byng, and therefore we may conclude, he who gave the advice was a good seaman.

^d London Gazette, No. 6673.

^e This circumstance, as well as the style of the following letter, will sufficiently demonstrate how welcome the news was to his majesty, and how much he approved Sir George Byng's conduct, and the system on which it was founded.

" Monf. le Chev. BYNG,

" Quoy que je n'ay pas-encore receu de vos nouvelles en droit ture, j'ay appris la victoire que la flotte a remportée sous vos ordres, et je n'ay pas voulu vous différer le contentement que mon approbation de votre conduit vous pourroit donner. Je vous en remercie, et je souhaite que vous en témoigniez ma satisfaction à tous les braves gens, qui se sont distingués dans cette occasion.

" Le secrétaire d'état Craggs a ordre de vous informer plus au long de mes intentions mais j'ay voulu vous assurer moy même que je suis, monsieur le chevalier Byng

" A Hampton-court,

" ce 23 d'Aout, 1718.

" Votre bon amy,

" GEORGE R."

In English thus :

" Sir GEORGE BYNG,

" Although I have received no news from you directly, I am informed of the victory obtained by the fleet under your command, and would not therefore defer giving you that satisfaction which must result from my approbation of your conduct. I give you my thanks, and desire you will testify my satisfaction to all the brave men who have distinguished themselves on this occasion. Mr. secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of my intentions; but I was willing myself to assure you, that I am

" Hampton-court,

" Aug. 23, 1718.

" Your good friend,

GEORGE R."

a handsome present, and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy as there should be occasion, and with his royal grant, to the officers and seamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards ^b.

The admiral in the mean time prosecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free access into the fortresses that were still held out in Sicily, sailed afterward to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian galleys under the command of the marquis de Rivaroles, and a ship belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by rear-admiral Cammock, with a few ships which he had saved after the late engagement, and then sailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the 2d of November, and soon after received a gracious letter from the emperor Charles VI. written with his own hand ⁱ; accompanied

^b The earl of Sunderland, then at the head of the British administration, had a very great opinion of Sir George Byng's talents, and thought they qualified him equally for command at sea and for the functions of a minister on shore: a circumstance of which he very ably availed himself, without intending to create a precedent.

ⁱ COPY of the EMPEROR'S LETTER to the ADMIRAL, written by his own hand:

" Monsieur Amiral et Chevalier BYNG,

" J'ay reçu avec beaucoup de satisfaction et de joy, par le porteur de celle cy la
 " vôtre du 18^{me} d'Aout. Quand de sceus que vous estiez nommé de sa majesté
 " le roy vôtre maître pour commandez sa flotte dans la Méditerranée, je conceus
 " d'abord toutes les bonnes esperances. Le glorieux succès pourtant les a en
 " quelque manière surpassés. Vous avez en cette occasion donné des preuves d'une
 " valeur, conduite, et zele pour la commune cause tres singulier; la gloire que
 " vous en resulte est bien grande, mais aussi en rien m'indre ma reconnaissance,
 " comme vous l'expliquera plus le compte de Hamilton. Comptez toujours sur
 " la continuation de ma reconnaissance, et de mon affection priant Dieu qu'il vous
 " ait en sa sainte garde.

" A Vienne, ce 22^{me}

" Octobre, 1718.

" CHARLES."

" Admiral Sir GEORGE BYNG,

" I have received with a great deal of joy and satisfaction, by the bearer of
 " this, yours of the 18th of August. As soon as I knew you was named by the
 " king your master to command his fleet in the Mediterranean, I conceived the
 " greatest hopes imaginable from that very circumstance. The glorious success
 " you have had surpasses, however, my expectations. You have given, upon
 " this

accompanied with a picture of his imperial majesty, set round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful sense he had of the signal services rendered by his excellency to the house of Austria.

As for the prizes that had been taken, they were sent to Port Mahon, where by some accident the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with most of the crew on board; but the admiral had been before set ashore in Sicily, with some other prisoners of distinction, where he died soon after of his wounds^k.

The Spanish court, excessively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally destroyed the naval force they had been at so much pains to raise, were not slow in expressing their resentments. On the 1st of September rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and at the same time all the effects of the English merchants were seized in Malaga and other ports of Spain, which, as soon as it was known here, produced reprisals on our part^l. But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what passed in the northern seas.

A resolution having been taken, as before observed, to send a strong squadron to the Baltic, it was put under the command of Sir John Norris and rear-admiral Mighels, who, with ten sail of the line of battle, left Sole-bay on the 1st of May, having eighteen merchant-ships under their convoy, and on the 14th arrived safely at Copenhagen, where the same day Sir John Norris had an audience of his Danish majesty, by whom he was very graciously received; and, soon after, he sailed, in conjunction with the Danish fleet, to the coast of Sweden, where the

"this occasion, very singular proofs of your courage, conduct, and zeal for the common cause: the glory you obtain from thence is indeed great, and yet my gratitude fills nothing short thereof, as count Hamilton will fully inform you. You may always depend upon the continuance of my thankfulness and affection towards you: may God have you always in his holy keeping.

"Vienna, October 22,

"CHARLES."

"O. S. 1718.

^k Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 381. Annals of king George, vol. v. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. ^l Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 108.

king found himself obliged to lay up his ships in his own harbours, and to take all possible precautions for their security^m. That monarch, however, was far from being idle, notwithstanding he was sensible of the great superiority of his enemies, but endeavoured to provide, in the best manner he was able, for his own security, by making a peace with the Czar, and in the mean time turning his arms against the king of Denmark in Norway, which kingdom he entered with an army of thirty thousand men, in two bodies, one commanded by general Arenfelt, and the other by himself in personⁿ.

He had all the success in this expedition that he could wish, especially the season of the year considered; for it was in the depth of winter that he penetrated into that frozen country, where, at the siege of Frederickshall, he was killed by a cannon bullet, about nine in the evening, on the 30th of November, 1718. The death of this enterprising monarch gave quite a new turn to the affairs in the north, and particularly freed us from all apprehensions on that side. Before this extraordinary event happened, Sir John Norris was returned with the fleet under his command to England, where he safely arrived in the latter end of the month of October^o.

There remains only one transaction more of this year, which in a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; and it is the account we promised to give of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Wood Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama Islands, sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government, on the 11th of April, and after a short and easy passage, arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately^p. He proceeded soon after in forming a council, and settling the civil government of those

^m Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 660. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 873. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxiv. p. 624.

ⁿ Voltaire, histoire de Charles XII. roi de Suède, liv. viii. Gen. Gordon's history of Peter the Great, vol. ii. p. 155. De la Mottraye's travels, vol. ii. chap. xiii.

^o Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 874. ^p Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 330. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 86. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxiv. p. 579.

islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees, he succeeded. Some of the pirates, 'tis true, rejected at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of Carolina; but when they saw that governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama Islands found themselves obliged through interest to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that by the 1st of July, 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four vessels of those pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible^q.

Thus, in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this herd of villains was in some measure dissolved, who for many years had frightened the West Indies, and the northern colonies; coming at last to be so strong, that few merchant-men were safe, and withal so cruel and barbarous, that slavery among the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us, if the management of the Spanish guarda costas had been committed to the care of some man of like spirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war^r.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and one of the first things they went upon, was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engrossed all public conversation, from the time of the stroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, some looking upon that as one of the noblest exploits since the revolution; but others considered it in quite another light^s; and when an address was moved for to justify that measure, it was warmly

^q This captain Woods Rogers made the tour of the globe, in the famous expedition from Bristol, in the *Duke and Duchess*.

^r Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 873, 874. Tindal, *Oldmixon*.

^s Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 182, 183.

opposed by the dukes of Buckingham, Devonshire, and Argyle; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Orford, and Ilay; the lords North, Grey, and Harcourt, in the house of peers; and by Mr. Shippen, Mr. Freeman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Horatio Walpole, Esq; and Robert Walpole, Esq; in the house of commons; but without effect^c. On the 19th of the same month, the house of commons voted 13,500 seamen for the service of the year 1719, at 4l. a month; and at the same time granted 187,638l. 17s. 6d. for the ordinary of the navy; and that we may range all the sums given under the same head, it may not be amiss to observe, that, on the 19th of January, the house of commons granted 25,000l. for the half pay of sea-officers^d.

On the 17th of December, 1718, a declaration of war in form was published against the crown of Spain^e; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were said in the house of commons, especially with regard to the pretensions, and the intentions of those who made this war; for the ministry insisted strongly, that it was made in favour of trade, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants. It was urged by a great speaker, who is still living, that the ministers had shewn no great concern for the trade and interest of the nation, since it appeared by the answer of a secretary of state to the marquis de Monteleon's letter, that they would have passed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and, that his majesty did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity. That nobody could yet tell how far that sacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condescension. Another member went yet farther, and made use of his favourite expression, insinuating, that this war seemed to be calculated for another meridian; but wrapped up the *inuendo* so dextrously, that no exception was taken to it. The ministry, however, continued the pursuit of their own scheme, in spite of opposition, and took such vigor-

^c O'Donovan's history of England, vol. ii. p. 668. Historical register for 1718, p. 413.

^d Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 166. Historical register for 1718, p. 423. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 578.

^e Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 69.

our measures for obliging Spain to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentments against such as endeavoured to impose it upon her, and with this view she drew together a great number of transports at Cadiz and Corunna^a.

The late earl of Stair, who was then our minister at the court of France, dispatched the first certain intelligence of the designs of Spain; which were, to have sent a considerable body of troops, under the command of the late duke of Ormonde, into the west of England; upon this, the most effectual methods were taken here for defeating that scheme, A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to sea; a proclamation issued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormonde, with a promise of 5000 L. to the person that should seize him; and an embargo was laid on all shipping^b. These precautions were attended with such success, and the fleet was fitted out with so much expedition, that on the 5th of April Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead to the westward, with nine men of war; and on the 29th, the earl of Berkley sailed from St. Helen's, with seven other men of war to join him, which he did the next day^c.

The government likewise took some other very salutary measures to oppose this intended invasion of the Spaniards. The troops in the west of England, where it was conjectured they designed to land, were reinforced by several regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom, and four battalions were sent for over from Ireland, and were landed at Minehead and Bristol, while at the same time the allies of his majesty were desired to get in readiness the succours, which by several treaties they stood engaged to furnish in case of a rebellion, or, if the British

^a Chandler's debates, vol. v. p. 197, 191. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 235.

^b Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 583. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 677. See the proclamation in the historical register for 1719, p. 156.

^c M. de St. Philippe memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Espagne, vol. iii. p. 354, 355, 356. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 832. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 233. Historical register for 1719, p. 162, 163.

dominions should be invaded by any foreign power. Accordingly, about the middle of April, two battalions of Switzers, in the service of the States-General, arrived in the river Thames; and about the same time three battalions of Dutch troops, making together the full complement of men which Holland was obliged to furnish, landed in the north of England. But by this time came certain advice, that the Spanish fleet designed for this expedition, consisting of five men of war, and about forty transports, having on board the late duke of Ormonde, and upwards of 5000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which sailed from Cadiz on the 23d of February, O. S. being on the 28th of that month about fifty leagues to the westward of cape Finisterre, met with a violent storm, which lasted forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed them^a. Thus, this design of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

What loss they met with is uncertain; but several of their vessels returned to the ports of Spain in a very shattered condition. A very small part, however, of this embarkation, had somewhat a different fortune; for the earls of Marshal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, with about four hundred men, most Spaniards, on board three frigates and five transports, landed in the shire of Ross in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or sixteen hundred Scots, and had instructions to wait the duke of Ormonde's orders, and the account of his being landed in England. But the whole design being quashed by the dispersion of the Spanish fleet, the Highland troops were defeated at Glenhiel, and the auxiliary Spaniards surrendered at discretion. They had met with a check before at Donan Castle, which was secured by his majesty's ships, the Worcester, Enterprize, and Flamborough, the castle being blown up, and the greatest part of their ammunition taken or destroyed^b.

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in such close conjunction with France, that the regent de-

^a Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 678. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 584. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 259. *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. lxvi. p. 474, 574.

^b Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 251. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, *ubi supra*. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 89. Historical register for 1719, p. 15.

clared war against his cousin the king of Spain; and though marshal Villars, and some other officers of great rank, refused, from a point of honour, to lead an army against a grandson of France, yet marshal Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, fixed that prince upon his throne, accepted the command of the army which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to such conditions as were thought requisite for establishing the general tranquillity of Europe. Many people here suspected that this war would produce no great effects; but it proved quite otherwise; for the marquis de Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Passage, where he found six men of war just finished, upon the stocks, all which, prompted thereto by colonel Stanhope, (afterwards earl of Harrington), he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; which was a greater real loss to the Spaniards than that they sustained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick besieged Fontarabia, both which actions shewed, that the French were actually in earnest.

While the Spaniards were pleasing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions it was impossible to effect against us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was distressing them effectually; for, having early in the spring sailed from Port Mahon to Naples, he there adjusted every thing for the reduction of Sicily, in which he acted with such zeal, and what he did was attended with so great success, that not only the imperial army was transported into the island, and so well supplied with all things necessary from our fleet, (which at the same time attended and disturbed all the motions of the enemy's army), that it may be truly said, the success of that expedition was as much owing to the English admiral, as to the German general; and that the English fleet did no less service than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition, would take up much more room than I have to spare, and would, besides, oblige me to digress from my proper subject, since the motions of a fleet attending a land army, for the service of the emperor,

^c *Mercure historique et politique*, tom. lxxvi. p. 535. *Annals of king George*, vol. v. p. 256. *Historical register* for 1719, p. 186.

cannot be, strictly speaking, thought a part of the British naval history^d; for which reasons I shall speak of it as concisely as may be.

There is, however, one circumstance that deserves to be made known to posterity, and which I will not therefore omit. The imperialists having taken the city of Messina, on the 8th of August, 1719, the admiral landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free passage for the ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise road; and this being perceived by the officers of the Spanish men of war in the Mole, who began to despair of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, and resolved to wait their fate, which they knew must be the same with that of the citadel; and this gave great satisfaction to the admiral, who now found himself at liberty to employ his ships in other services, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port^e.

But, while all things were in this prosperous condition, a dispute arose among the allies about the disposition of the Spanish ships before-mentioned, which, upon taking the citadel, would of course fall into their hands. Signior Scrampi, general of the king of Sardinia's galleys, first started the question, and claimed the two best of sixty, and the other of sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the convention made at Vienna the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, "That as to the ships belonging to the king of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they shall be restored him; but that this shall be referred to admiral Byng to answer." To this the admiral replied, "That this convention

^d The reader may inform himself fully as to all these circumstances, by perusing the ACCOUNT of the EXPEDITION to SICILY, which I have cited so often, and which is a very ample history of that memorable war, that embarrassed us so much while it continued; and which has been buried in obscurity ever since, except as to the promise it occasioned about Gibraltar; of which we shall hear more than once, before we conclude this volume; and perhaps we may, some time or other, find the history of that promise no unuseful piece of intelligence.

^e M. de St. Philippe *memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 411, 412, 413.

"having

“ having been only a ground-work for another to be made at
 “ Naples, he could be directed by none but that which had
 “ been made in consequence thereof, in April 1719, between
 “ the viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Breille, minister of
 “ Sardinia, and himself, in which no mention is made of
 “ those ships; and as for the reference to his opinion, he
 “ did freely declare he could not think the king of Sardinia had
 “ any shadow of title to them; that they had been taken by
 “ the enemy, were now fitted out and armed at their expence,
 “ and under their colours; that they would put out to sea if he
 “ did not hinder them, and attack all English ships they met
 “ with, and, if stronger, take them; so that he could not con-
 “ sider them in any other light than as they were the ships of
 “ an enemy.” Count de Merci next put in his claim for the
 emperor, alledging, “ That as those ships would be found
 “ within the port of a town taken by his master’s arms, accord-
 “ ing to the right of nations they belonged to him.” The ad-
 miral replied, “ That it was owing to his keeping two squa-
 “ drons on purpose, and at a great hazard, to watch and ob-
 “ serve those ships, that they were now confined within the
 “ port; which if he was to withdraw, they would still be able
 “ to go to sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with
 “ and taking them.”

But reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the gar-
 rison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into
 Spain, which he was determined never to suffer; that, on the
 other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient
 dispute at that critical juncture among the princes concerned;
 and, if it should be at length determined that they did not be-
 long to England, it were better they belonged to nobody; he
 proposed to count de Merci to erect a battery, and destroy them
 as they lay in the basin; who urged, that he had no orders
 concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instruc-
 tions about it. The admiral replied with some warmth, that he

f Sir George Byng understood the spirit of his instructions, and, without ha-
 ving inquisitive into the nature of our quarrel with Spain, resolved to use his
 best endeavours to put it out of the Spaniards power to hurt us; and, in doing
 this, we shall see he could be pre-emptory, as well as compliant, to our al-
 lies.

could

could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the general, being concerned in interest not to carry matters to an open misunderstanding, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestations of Signior Scrampi, which, in a little time, sunk and destroyed them, and thereby completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain^s.

The imperial court had formed a design of making themselves masters again of Sardinia, out of which they had been driven, as is before observed, by the Spaniards; but our admiral judged it more for the service of the house of Austria, that this army should be immediately transported into Sicily. In order to effect this, and at the same time to procure artillery for carrying on the siege of the citadel of Messina, he went over to Naples, where, finding that the government was absolutely unable to furnish the military stores that were wanting, he very generously granted to his imperial majesty the cannon out of the British prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and soon after went thither himself, in order to hasten the embarkation of the troops, which was made sooner than could have been expected, merely through the diligence of the admiral, and in spite of the delays affected by the then count, afterwards bashaw Bonneval, who was appointed to command them^b.

After the citadel of Messina surrendered, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the island, by which speedy and unexpected conveyance they distressed the enemy to such a degree, that the marquis de Lede, who commanded the Spanish forces in chief, proposed to evacuate the island, to which the Germans were very well inclined; but our admiral protested against it, and declared, that the Spanish troops should never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded. In

^s Expedition to Sicily, p. 62. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 385. Columna rostrata, p. 311.

^b This man, whose turbulent disposition led him first to fight against his country, was now out of humour in the German service, and at length fled to the Turks. But Sir George knowing his own business perfectly, passed over pacifically in order to accomplish it.

this Sir George certainly acted as became a British admiral, and after having done so many services for the imperialists, insisted on their doing what was just with respect to us, and holding the Spanish troops in the uneasy situation they now were, till they gave ample satisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. It must, however, be considered, that, in the first place, the admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, since the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and, on the other hand, our demands on the court of Spain were as much for the interest of the common cause as for our own, so that though the steadiness of admiral Byng deserved commendation, yet there seemed to be no great praises due to the German complaisance¹.

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the same time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive but execute an invasion, a secret design was formed for sending a fleet and army to the coasts of Spain, which was very successfully performed; and, on the 21st of September, 1719, vice-admiral Mighels, with a strong squadron of his majesty's ships under his command, and the transports, having on board the forces commanded by the late lord viscount Cobham, consisting of about 6000 men, sailed from St. Helen's; and the first account we had of them is comprized in the following letter, which, indeed, contains the only good account that was ever published of this expedition; and therefore I presume the reader will not be displeased to see it².

“ His excellency the lord-viscount Cobham, with the men of
 “ war commanded by vice-admiral Mighels, and the transports
 “ having the forces on board, arriving on the coast of Galicia,
 “ kept cruizing three days in the station appointed for captain
 “ Johnson to join them; but having no news of him, and the
 “ danger of lying on the coast at this season of the year with
 “ transports, rendering it necessary to take some measures of act-

¹ This was esteemed a mighty service by one party in England, and treated with very great contempt by another.

² Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 884. Historical register for 1719, p. 37. Columna illustrata, p. 309. Mercure historique & politique, tom. lxvii. p. 456.

“ ing without him, and the wind offering fair for Vigo, his lordship took the resolution of going thither.

“ On the 29th of September, O. S. they entered the harbour of Vigo, and the grenadiers, being immediately landed about three miles from the town, drew up on the beach ; some peasants fired from the mountains at a great distance, but without any execution. His lordship went a-shore with the grenadiers, and the regiments followed as fast as the boats could carry them. That night, and the following day and night, the troops lay upon their arms. In the mean while provisions for four days were brought a-shore, and guards were posted in several avenues to the distance of above a mile up the country.

“ On the 1st of October his lordship moved, with the forces, nearer the town, and encamped at a strong post, with the left to the sea, near the village of Boas, and the right extended towards the mountains. This motion of the army, and some parties that were ordered to view the town and citadel, gave the enemy some apprehensions, that preparations were making to attack them; whereupon they set fire to the carriages of the cannon of the town, nailed those cannon, and by all their motions seemed to be determined to abandon the town to the care of the magistrates and inhabitants, and to retire with the regular troops into the citadel; whereupon the lord Cobham sent to summon the town to surrender, which the magistrates made no difficulty of doing; and the same night his lordship ordered brigadier Honywood, with eight hundred men, to take post in the town, and Fort St. Sebastian, which the enemy had also abandoned.

“ On the 3d a bomb-vessel began to bombard the citadel, but with little execution by reason of the great distance. That evening the large mortars and the cohorn-mortars were landed at the town; between forty and fifty of them, great and small, placed on a battery under cover of Fort St. Sebastian, began in the night to play upon the citadel, and continued it four days with great success. The fourth day his lordship ordered the battering cannon to be landed, and, with some others found in the town, to be placed on the battery of Fort St. Sebastian. At the same time his lordship sent the governor a summons to surrender, signifying, that, if he staid till our
“ battery

“ battery of cannon was ready, he should have no quarter.
 “ Colonel Ligonier was sent with this message, but found the
 “ governor Don Joseph de los Cereos had the day before been
 “ carried out of the castle wounded; the lieutenant-colonel,
 “ who commanded in his absence, desired leave and time to send
 “ to the marquis de Risburg at Tuy for his directions; but, be-
 “ ing told the hostilities should be continued if they did not send
 “ their capitulation without any delay, they soon complied¹. ”

The capitulation consisted of ten articles, by which the garrison were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and the place, with all its works, magazines, and whatever they contained either of ammunition or provisions, were delivered up to his excellency the lord Cobham.

On the 10th of the same month, in the morning, the garrison marched out, consisting of 469 men, (officers included), having had above 300 killed or wounded by our bombs. The place, it is said, cost us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town about sixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the enemy abandoned, and these they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars, besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting in the whole to about 8000 musquets; all which stores and brass ordnance were lodged there from on board the ships that were to have visited Great Britain in the preceding spring, and the very troops that gave up Vigo were part also of those corps which were to have been employed in that expedition; seven ships were seized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one of which was to carry twenty-four guns; the rest were trading vessels^m.

Vigo being thus taken, the lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thousand men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did on the 14th, and, having landed his men, march-

¹ This relation was published in the London Gazette, dated Whitehall, October 2, 1719.

^m Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 686. Annals of King George, vol. vi. p. 55. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 604. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxvii. p. 579.

ed to Ponta-Vedra, which place surrendered without opposition, the magistrates of the town meeting them with the keys.

In this place were taken two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight pounders, and four mortars, all brass, besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small arms, some bombs, &c. all which, except the twenty-four pounders, were embarked, and major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the 23d^a.

The next day the lord Cobham, finding it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewise the cannon, &c. which being done by the 27th, he sailed that day for England, where he arrived the 11th of November, having lost in the whole expedition about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deserted^o.

There is yet another expedition, of which we must take some notice before we shut up the transactions of this year, and it is that of Sir John Norris into the Baltic. Things had now changed their face in the north; the Swedes, since the death of their king, were become our friends, and the great design of sending this fleet was to protect these new friends against our old allies the Russians. The queen of Sweden was extremely well pleased on the receiving so seasonable a succour. In the beginning of September Sir John Norris, with his Squadron joined the Swedish fleet, and on the 6th of the same month arrived at the Dahlen near Stockholm, where her majesty's consort, the late king of Sweden, did him the honour to dine on board his ships^p. This junction of the English and Swedish fleets broke all the measures of the Czar Peter the Great, who had ruined the Swedish coast in a cruel manner, but was now forced to retire with his fleet into the harbour of Revel^q.

^a M. de St. Philippe memoires pour servir a l'histoire de l'Espagne, tome iii. p. 409.

^o Columna restructa, p. 311. Historical register for 1719, p. 387.

Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 385.

^p Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 680. Annals of king George, vol. vi. p. 25. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxxvii. p. 390.

^q The Czar had more than one English admiral in his service, and they honestly represented the risk he ran of seeing the naval force, which was the creature of his own brain, and which he nursed with so much care, strangled, as soon as brought forth, by an unequal contest with a British fleet, which he might avoid without any dishonour.

The lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, was then ambassador at Stockholm, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, laboured assiduously to bring the conferences at the island of Ahland to a happy conclusion; but the Czar not being at that time disposed to think of pacific measures, they could not prevail; so that, about the middle of September, the conferences broke up. All this time the fleet continued near Stockholm; but the winter season coming on, and there being no reason to fear any farther attacks on the Swedes, as the Danes had accepted his Britannic majesty's mediation, Sir John Norris thought of returning home, and accordingly sailed from Elfsnæp on the 27th of October, with a large fleet of merchantmen under his convoy, and safely arrived at Copenhagen on the 6th of November, where he was received by his Danish majesty with all imaginable marks of distinction and esteem. It must indeed be allowed, to the honour of this worthy admiral's memory, that, whatever views the ministry might have at home, he consulted the nation's glory abroad, and, by preserving the balance of power in the north, rendered the highest service to his country. On the 12th of the same month the fleet sailed from Copenhagen, and on the 17th met with a dreadful storm, which damaged several ships, but destroyed none. Towards the close of the month they arrived safe, and on the last day of November Sir John came to London, after having managed with great reputation, and finished with much expedition, an enterprize which, in less able hands, would either have brought discredit on our naval power, or involved the nation in a bloody war; but by his steady and prudent conduct they were both avoided, and a stop put to those troubles, which for many years had embroiled the north.

His majesty returned from Hanover about the middle of November, 1719, and the parliament met the latter end of the same month, when there were very warm debates upon the subject of the Sicilian expedition; where many great men, and good patriots, thought our fleet had done too much for the Germans, and too little for themselves. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry maintained, that their measures were

^r Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 384. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 589. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome lxxii. p. 631.

right; that the giving Sicily to the emperor, and Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, would effectually fix the balance of power in Italy, and free us, and the rest of Europe, from the apprehensions created by the mighty naval power of Spain.

It is not, strictly speaking, my business, and to say the truth, the compass of this work will not allow me to enlarge much upon it, if an inquiry into the politics of those times was more for than it is; but thus much I think is to be said, in justice to Sir George Byng; that the question does not at all respect his behaviour, since the merit of an officer consists in executing his orders, for which alone he is answerable, and not at all for the rectitude of those orders. If this be not allowed, we must never hope to be well served at sea, since the admiral who takes upon him to interpret his instructions, will never want excuses for his management, be it what it will; and if this proposition be once granted, Sir George Byng must be allowed to have done his duty, as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was subdued, and his Catholic majesty forced to accept the terms prescribed to him by the quadruple alliance. He it was who first enabled the Germans to set foot in that island; by him they were supported in all they did; and by his councils they were directed, or they had otherwise been again expelled the island, even after the taking of Messina. As warm debates were there about our proceedings in the Baltic, which, whether they were right or wrong, ought not to affect the character of the admiral, who punctually executed his instructions, and performed all that was, or could be, expected from him; neither was this denied by such as opposed the ministry, and whose sentiments were at this time over ruled in parliament*.

On the 2d of December, the naval supplies for the ensuing year were settled. 13,500 men were allowed for the service of 1720, and the sum of 4*l.* *per* month as usual, granted

* It is a great misfortune in this country, that in all party-disputes, in which the only real object is power, political, and sometimes religious systems are adopted, and maintained with such plausibility on both sides, that an honest inquirer is hard put to it to find, and when he has found, runs the hazard of being stoned, if he ventures to declare for TRUTH.

for that purpose; 217,918 l. 10 s. 8 d. was given for the ordinary of the navy, and 79,723 l. for the extraordinary repairs. Soon after a demand was made for a considerable sum, expended in the necessary service of the last year, beyond what was provided for by parliament; and after great debates, in which those then in opposition took great freedoms, a vote was obtained on the 15th of January, for 377,561 l. 6s. 9½d. in discharge of those expences. In the beginning of the month of February, the king of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance^c; and, as a consequence thereof, a cessation of arms was soon after published, which was quickly followed by a convention in Sicily for the evacuation of that island, and also of the island of Sardinia; and thus the house of Austria got possession of the kingdom of Sicily by means of the British fleet. But, what return the imperial court made Great Britain for these favours, we shall see in its proper place. About the same time, a messenger dispatched by the then lord Carteret, from Stockholm, brought the instrument of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded between his majesty and the crown of Sweden^d.

The Czar of Muscovy remaining still at war with that crown, and having entered into measures that, in the opinion of our court, were calculated to overturn the balance of power in the north, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris once more with a fleet of twenty men of war under his command, into those seas. The design of this was, to secure the Swedes from feeling the Czar's resentment, or from being forced to accept such hard and unequal conditions as he might endeavour to impose. The better to understand this, it will be requisite to observe, that the Swedes had made some great alterations in their government, not only by asserting their crown to be elective, but by making choice of the prince of Hesse, consort to the queen their sovereign, for their king, on her motion and request; notwithstanding the claim of the duke of Holstein, her sister's

^c Lamberti, tome x. append. p. 59, 60, 61. together with his Catholic majesty's act of acceptance.

^d Annals of king George, vol. vi. p. 98. Historical register, for 1720, p. 5. Salm:son's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 94. Lamberti, tome x. append. N^o. 10.

son, to the succession. This young prince the Czar was pleased to take under his protection, and proposed to the Swedes, that if they would settle the crown upon him, his Czarish majesty would give him his daughter, with the provinces conquered from Sweden, by way of dowry; but, in case this was refused, he threatened to pursue the war more vigorously than ever, and for that purpose began to make very great naval preparations ^w.

As our old league with Sweden was now renewed, the British fleet, on the 16th of April ^x, sailed for the Baltic; in the beginning of the month of May they were joined, on the coast of Sweden, by a squadron of ships belonging to that crown; and, on the 24th of the same month, being near the coast of Ahland, they were joined by seven Swedish men of war more, under the command of admiral Wachmeister; the 26th it was resolved, that the fleet should proceed towards the coast of Revel; which saved the Swedes from feeling at that juncture any marks of the Czar's displeasure. In the mean time, our minister at the court of Denmark having prepared that monarch for an accommodation with Sweden, lord Carteret, who was our minister at Stockholm, negotiated, and brought to a happy conclusion the treaty of peace between the two crowns, under our mediation, and went afterwards to Copenhagen to present it to his Danish majesty, of whom he had an audience on the 29th of June 1720, for that purpose.

His lordship continued for some time after at the Danish court, where he was treated with unusual marks of esteem and respect, by a prince who was allowed to be one of the wisest crowned heads in Europe, and who, as a signal testimony of his favour to that accomplished statesman, took a sword from his side, richly set with diamonds, to the value of five thousand pounds, of which he made a present to his lordship ^y.

^w Mr. de la Motray's travels, vol. ii. chap. xiv. He was upon the spot in the conferences on the isle of Ahland.

^x Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 695. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 337. Anna's of king George, vol. vi. p. 188.

^y Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 617. Historical register for 1720, p. 241. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. iii. p. 720. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxxix. p. 36, 158.

The season for action being over, Sir John Norris, on the 8th of September, sailed with the squadron under his command to Stockholm. The new king of Sweden did him the honour to dine with him on board his ship, accompanied by Mr. Finch, the British envoy, and the Polish minister prince Lubomirski, and other persons of distinction; and his excellency soon after returned with the squadron under his command to England*. The Czar bore this interposition of ours very impatiently, and his ministers did not fail to impute it wholly to the interest which his majesty, as a German prince, had to compromise affairs with Sweden, with relation to the acquisition he had made of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. However, thus much is very certain, that whatever benefit his majesty, as elector of Hanover, might draw from the protection afforded to Sweden by the British fleet, this was a measure, as things then stood, entirely corresponding with the British interest; and we had often interposed in the very same manner under former reigns, to prevent such conquests in the north as might be fatal to a commerce, upon the proper carrying on of which, in a great measure, depends almost all the other branches of our trade. The insinuations, therefore, of the Czar had no great weight at the time, either with us, or with other powers, as appears by the conduct of Prussia and Denmark, both making separate treaties with Sweden, notwithstanding all the expostulations, remonstrances, and even threatenings of his Czarish majesty to prevent it*. Neither is it at all impossible, that the very dread of that exorbitant power, to which that ambitious monarch aspired, might contribute as much to their taking that resolution, as any other motive whatever^b.

His majesty having spent the summer in his German dominions, returned to Great Britain in the month of November; and the parliament meeting on the 8th of December following, the proceedings of the whole year were laid before that august

* Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 328. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 103.

a Lamberini, tome x. append. N^o. 11, 12. Roussel, tome i. p. 373. Le droit public de l'Europe, chap. viii. p. 99.

b Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 711. Tiedal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 679.

assembly; in which it was insisted upon, that the money issued for the sea-service had produced all the desired effects; and that, as peace had been settled by the force of our arms in the Mediterranean a few months before, so it was highly probable that the very terror of our arms would cause the troubles of the north to subside in a few months to come. Upon these suggestions a considerable naval force was asked for the next year; and though there was a good deal of opposition, and a great many bold speeches made, yet in the end the point was carried; and, on the 19th of December, the house of commons resolved, that 10,000 men be allowed for the sea-service, for the year 1721, at 4l. a man *per* month, for thirteen months: that 219,049l. 14s. be granted for the ordinary of the navy; and 50,200l. for extra-repairs for the same year^c. This provision being made, it was resolved to send Sir John Norris, and rear-admiral Hopson, with a squadron of thirteen men of war of the line, besides frigates and bomb-ketches, into the Baltic, to put an end to these disputes, which had already cost our allies so much blood, and ourselves so large a proportion of treasure, and which it was thought could not be soon settled any other way.

The Czar having still in view the reduction of the Swedes to his own terms, was very early at sea with a large fleet, and, designing to strike a terror into the whole Swedish nation, he ravaged their coasts with incredible fury, to give it the softest name, committing such cruelties as were scarce ever heard of amongst the most barbarous nations; yet the Swedes kept up their spirits, and depending on our protection, did not take any hasty measures, but insisted on certain mitigations; which by this firmness they at last obtained. In the middle of the month of April, Sir John Norris sailed from the Nore; and towards the latter end of the same month arrived at Copenhagen, where he was received with all imaginable marks of esteem^d; soon after he continued his voyage for the coast of Sweden, where he was joined by a few Swedish ships. His appearance in these seas, and with such a force, produced greater consequences

^c Historical register for 1721, p. 24. 25.
vol. ii p. 339. Mémoire historique et politique, tome lxx. p. 715.

^d Lediard's naval history.

than were expected from it; for the Czar doubting his own strength, and fearing, upon the loss of a battle, that his whole naval force would be destroyed, as he had seen of late to be the case of Spain; he began to be more inclinable to a peace, which was concluded at Neifstadt, upon the thirty-first of August^e.

This treaty having settled the Czar's rights to the conquered provinces, and secured to the Swedes various immunities and privileges, in order to bring them more readily to consent to such terms as they would have otherwise thought hard, satisfied in some measure both crowns. Sir John Norris continued all this time with his fleet in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, in order to give weight to the negociations of Mr. Finch; and the peace being signed and ratified, he took leave of the Swedish court, and sailed for Copenhagen; where he arrived in the beginning of the month of October; and on the 6th of the same month, returning home, arrived safely at the Nore on the 20th; leaving the north in perfect quiet, and all its powers under a just sense of the seasonable interposition of Great Britain; in favour of that balance of power in those parts, which is of such high consequence to the tranquillity of Europe in general, as well as the particular advantage of each of the monarchs thus (not without much difficulty) reconciled.

At home, the disputes and uneasiness which had been occasioned by the execution of the South-sea scheme, kept the nation in a high ferment, and put the court under a necessity of altering its measures, and making some changes in the administration; among which, we may reckon the great alteration of the board of admiralty, which took place in the month of September, when his majesty was pleased to order letters patent to pass the great seal, constituting the right honourable James, earl of Berkley, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Daniel Pulteney, Esq; commissioners for executing the of-

^e Lamberti, tome x. append. N^o. 15. Roussel, tome i. p. 327. Le droit public de l'Europe, chap. viii. p. 103.

^f Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 726. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 650, 653. Mercure historique et politique, tome lxxi. p. 599.

vice of lord high-admiral of Great Britain, &c. This appointment gave the most general satisfaction at that time; and it must be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their characters, that the board was never better settled than by these gentlemen, four of whom were as great seamen as any in this age; and the other three as well acquainted with the business of the office, and the duties of their post, as any that ever filled them.

The parliament met on the 19th of October, and on the 27th of the same month, the house of commons granted 7000 men for the service of the sea, for the year 1722, at the usual rate of 4l. a man *per* month; and on the 2d of November, they resolved, that the sum of 218,799 l. 4s. 7 d. be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year^b. This was a very moderate expence, and very agreeable to the situation of our affairs at that time, which had not been a little disordered by the large disbursements into which we had been drawn for many years past. It was not long, however, after this grant was made, before a new squadron was ordered to be got ready, consisting of thirteen very large ships, which squadron was to be commanded by Sir Charles Wager, and rear-admiral Hoffer. The destination of this armament was never certainly known; but the most probable account that has been given, is, that it was intended to chastise the Portuguese, for an insult offered by them to Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Roberts, two gentlemen of the factory at Lisbon, whose goods they seized, imprisoned their persons, and even went so far as to condemn them to be hanged, upon a very trifling pretence^c.

The case was this: There is a law in Portugal, which forbids the exportation of any coin whatsoever out of that kingdom, upon pain of death: but it was a law never insisted upon, and therefore to be thought obsolete, and, by custom, in a manner repealed; which construction was justified by the transporting gold coin from Lisbon to other countries almost every day, and in such a manner, as the court could not be ignorant of it.

^a Historical register for 1721, p. 28. Oldmixon. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 114.

^b Historical register for 1722, p. 10, 12.

^c Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 889. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 719.

What induced the Portuguese ministry to venture upon such an ill-timed severity, is not well known; but the vigorous measures taken by our court, were certainly the properest methods that could be taken, to hinder their proceeding to execution. At the same time, our minister stated the case of those gentlemen in the fairest and fullest light, observing to the king of Portugal, that of all nations in Europe, the English least deserved to be thus used, because they took the largest quantity of the manufactures of Portugal, in exchange for their own, of which last the Portuguese also exported a great deal. That the balance of trade in our favour had been, and must be, always discharged in gold, and that consequently these severe proceedings, if not remitted, must not only produce an immediate rupture between the two nations, but also hinder all commerce between them for the future. By degrees these representations were attended to, the merchants released, their goods restored, and the whole affair was amicably adjusted. Upon this, our naval armament was laid aside, and the mutual interest of the two nations, after this explanation, being better understood, the harmony between them was effectually restored, and this unlucky interruption of it buried on both sides in oblivion.

We may, from this instance, discern, how dangerous a thing it is, in any state, to suffer these sleeping laws to remain virtually, and yet not actually repealed, since, in certain conjunctures, there never will be wanting a sort of enterprizing men, who will endeavour to make their advantage of such penal statutes, disguising their private views, under a specious pretence of pursuing the public good. As, on the other hand, we cannot avoid observing, that the best way to secure justice to our subjects abroad, is always to keep up a considerable maritime force at home, that it may be known to all nations, with whom we have any dealings, we are always in a situation to exact a speedy and ample satisfaction for any insults that are offered to our merchants, as believing it but equitable to employ in favour of our commerce, that power which is the result of it; which never can be attained, but by encouraging an extensive trade, and which never can decay or decline, if we do not suffer our neighbours to interfere therein to our prejudice, by not applying timely and effectual remedies upon their first invasions. But

to return from these salutary cautions, to the thread of our narration.

The pirates in the West Indies, which had received some check from the vigorous dispositions of governor Rogers, and other commanders in those parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew so bold as even to annoy our colonies more than ever. This was owing to several causes; particularly to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a sufficient force in the North American seas^k. The merchants, finding themselves extremely distressed by a grievance that increased every day, made repeated representations, upon this head, to the government; upon which, fresh orders were sent to the officers of the navy cruising on the coast of Guinea, and in the West Indies, to exert themselves, with the utmost diligence, in crushing these enemies to mankind; and these injunctions had at length the desired effect. There was among these pirates, on the coast of Africa, one Roberts, a man whose parts deserved a better employment; he was an able seaman, and a good commander, and had with him two very stout ships, one commanded by himself, of forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; the other of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-two men; and to complete his squadron, he soon added a third, of twenty-four guns, and ninety men: with this force, Roberts had done a great deal of mischief in the West Indies, before he sailed for Africa, where he likewise took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April, 1722, he was taken by the then captain, afterwards Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the *Swallow*, and was cruising off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in consequence of this he went immediately in search of him, and soon after discovered the pirates in a very convenient bay, where the biggest and the least ship were upon the heel scrubbing^l. Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a distance, Roberts took him for a merchantman,

^k Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 724. Leonard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 890.

^l See captain, afterwards admiral, Ogle's letter to the lords of the admiralty, containing an exact relation of this transaction, dated *Swallow*, in Cape coast road, Africa, April 1722, in the historical register for 1722, p. 344—347.

and immediately ordered his consort *Skyrm* to slip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crowded all the sail he could to decoy the pirate to such a distance, that his consorts might not hear the guns, and then suddenly tacked, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broadside, by which their captain was killed; which so discouraged the crew, that after a brisk engagement, which lasted about an hour and a half, they surrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to the bay, hoisting the king's colours, under the pirates black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent stratagem had the desired effect; for the pirates, seeing the black flag uppermost, concluded the king's ship had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their consort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance; for captain Ogle gave them a very warm reception; and, though Roberts fought with the utmost bravery for near two hours, yet, being at last killed, the courage of his men immediately sunk, and both ships yielded. Captain Ogle carried these three prizes, with about one hundred and sixty men that were taken in them, to Cape Coast-castle, where they were instantly brought to their trials. Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-two were executed, and most of them hung in chains in several places, which struck a terror in that part of the world, as the taking several pirates in the West Indies, towards the latter end of the year, did in those seas^m. But these successes were far from putting an end to the mischief; so that it was found necessary soon after to send several ships of war to the northern colonies and Jamaica, where by degrees they extirpated entirely this dangerous crew of robbers.

As this year was very barren in naval transactions, I think I am at liberty to take notice of an event that otherwise might seem of too little importance to be recorded. The case was this: The government had intelligence, that the emissaries of the pretender were very busy in carrying on their intrigues at several foreign courts, and that, for the greater expedition and security, they had fitted out a ship called the *Resolution*, which then lay in the Mole of Genoa. It was in the midst of autumn when this intelligence was received; upon which orders were immediately

^m Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 724. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 821.

dispatched to the captains of such of our men of war, as were cruising in the Mediterranean, to seize and possess themselves of this vessel, which they accordingly did in the beginning of the month of November^a. But it so happened, that most of her officers were at this juncture on shore, which obliged Mr. Davenant, his majesty's envoy extraordinary to that republic, to demand them of the senate and state of Genoa; but the senate were either so unwilling, or so dilatory in this affair, that the persons concerned had an opportunity, which they did not miss, of making their escape; and though they were a little unlucky in losing their ship, which was a pretty good one, yet they were very fortunate in saving themselves, since, if they had been taken, they would have been treated as rebels, or perhaps considered as pirates, as some people were in king William's time, who acted under a commission from king James II.

The parliament having met on the 9th of October, the house of commons, on the 24th of the same month, granted 10,000 men for the sea-service, at four pounds *per man per month*, for the year 1723; and, on the 29th, they resolved, that 216,388l. 14s. 8d. be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the same year^b; and soon after the king was pleased to promote Sir George Walton, knight, to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, in the room of admiral Mighels, who was appointed to succeed Thomas Swanton, Esq; lately deceased, as comptroller of the navy; and admiral Littleton dying the fifth of February, rear-admiral Strickland succeeded him as vice-admiral of the white; the other admirals taking place according to their seniority^c.

The naval transactions of this year were, as I have already hinted, very inconsiderable; for though some great ships were put into commission, and there was once a design of fitting out a fleet, yet it was very soon after laid aside. But that we may not seem to pass by any thing that has the smallest relation to the subject of this work, we shall take notice of an account re-

^a *Mercuré historique et politique*, tom. lxxiv. p. 132. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 891. Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 734.

^b Historical register for 1722, p. 336.

^c Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 734. Historical register for 1723, p. 8, 12. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 132.

ceived about this time of an extraordinary hurricane at Jamaica, said to be the most remarkable that ever happened in that island; which account, as it is in itself equally curious and remarkable, so it is the more valuable, because not to be met with elsewhere⁹.

“ To Sir H. S. Bart.

“ Dated at Port-Royal in Jamaica, Nov. 13, 1722.

“ Since my last to you, the affairs of the island are altered infinitely for the worse. This change has been made by a most terrible storm that happened the 28th of August last; the damage which Jamaica has suffered by it is too great to be easily repaired again. Abundance of people have lost their lives by it, in one part or other of this island; some of them were dashed in pieces by the sudden fall of their houses, but the much greater part were swept away by a terrible inundation of the sea, which being raised by the violence of the wind to a much greater height than was ever known before, in many parts of the island broke over its ancient bounds, and of a sudden overflowed a large tract of land, carrying away with an irresistible force, men, cattle, houses, and, in short, every thing that stood in its way.

“ In this last calamity, the unfortunate town of Port Royal, has had, at least, its full share. And here I confess myself at a loss for words to give a just description of the horror of that scene that we the afflicted inhabitants saw before our eyes. When the terror of the sea broke in upon us from all quarters with an impetuous force, conspired with the violence of the wind to cut off all hopes of safety from us, and we had no other choice before us, but that dismal one of perishing in the waters if we fled out of our houses, or of being

⁹ Hurricane, which the French write Ouragan, is a word, in the language of the Caribbee Indians, expressing a violent tempest, in which the wind veers from one point of the compass to another. It is preceded first by a dead calm, the sun or moon very red, then a strong west wind. When this shifts to the north, the hurricane begins, continues shifting westward, till it come to south-east, and there stops. The bounds of these dreadful storms are from July 25, to September 8, O. S. but in general August is looked on, in America, as the hurricane month.

“ buried

" buried under the ruins if we continued in them. In this
 " fearful suspense we were held for several hours, for the vio-
 " lence of the storm began about eight in the morning, and did
 " not sensibly abate till between twelve and one, within which
 " space of time the wind and sea together demolished a consi-
 " derable part of the town, laid the churches even with the
 " ground, destroyed above one hundred and twenty white in-
 " habitants, and one hundred and fifty slaves, besides ruining
 " almost all the storehouses in the town, together with all the
 " goods that were in them, which amounted to a considerable
 " value.

" We had at Port-Royal two very formidable enemies to
 " encounter at the same time, viz. the wind and the sea; the
 " situation of the place, it being at all times surrounded with
 " the sea, rendering it more exposed than other places, to the
 " fury of that boisterous element; our defence against the sea,
 " consists in a great wall, round all along on the eastern shore
 " of the town, the side upon which we apprehend most dan-
 " ger. This wall is raised about nine feet above the surface of
 " the water, and may be about six or seven feet broad. And
 " for these twenty years past (for so long the wall has been
 " built) it has proved a sufficient security to the town. But, in
 " this fatal storm, the sea scorned to be restrained by so mean
 " a bulwark; for the wind having, as I observed before, raised
 " it very much above its ordinary height; it broke over the
 " wall with such a force, as nothing was able to withstand.
 " Two or three rows of houses that were next to the wall,
 " and ran parallel with it, were entirely taken away, among
 " which was the church, a handsome building, and very strong,
 " which was so perfectly demolished, that scarce one brick was
 " left upon another.

" A considerable part of the wall of the castle was thrown
 " down, notwithstanding its being of a prodigious thickness,
 " and founded altogether upon a rock, and the whole fort was
 " in the utmost danger of being lost, the sea breaking quite
 " over the walls of it, though they are reckoned to stand thirty
 " feet above the water. This information I had from the cap-
 " tain of the fort, and other officers, that were in it during the
 " storm, who all told me, that they expected every minute to
 " have

have the fort washed away, and gave up themselves and the whole garrison for lost. In the highest streets in the town, and those that are most remote from the sea, the water rose to between five and six feet; and at the same time the current was so rapid, that it was scarce possible for the strongest person to keep his legs, or to prevent himself from being carried away by it. In these circumstances we were obliged to betake ourselves to our chambers and upper rooms; where yet we ran the utmost hazard of perishing by the fall of our houses, which trembled and shook over our heads to a degree that is scarce credible. The roofs were for the most part carried off by the violence of the wind, and particularly in the house to which mine and several other families had betaken ourselves, the gable end was beaten in with such a force, that a large parcel of bricks fell through the garret floor into the chamber where we were, and had they fallen upon any of us, must infallibly have beaten out our brains; but God was pleased to order it so, that not a soul received any hurt.

There was, the morning on which the storm happened, a good fleet of ships riding in the harbour of Port-Royal, most of which had taken in their full freight, and were to have proceeded home in a few days, had they not been prevented by this terrible storm, which left but one vessel in the harbour, besides four sail of men of war, all which had their masts and rigging blown away, and the ships themselves, though in as secure a harbour as any in the whole West Indies, were as near to destruction as it was possible to be, and escape it. But the most sensible proof of the unaccountable force of the wind and sea together, was, the vast quantity of stones that were thrown over the town-wall; which, as I observed before, stands nine feet above the surface of the water, and yet such a prodigious number were forced over it, that almost an hundred negroes were employed for near six weeks together to throw them back again into the sea, and some of those stones were so vastly big, that it was as much as nine or ten men could do to heave them back again over the wall.

“ I am sensible this part of the relation will seem a little
 “ strange; but yet I doubt not of obtaining your belief, when
 “ I affirm it to you of my own knowledge for a certain truth.

“ But Port-Royal was not the only place that suffered in the
 “ storm: at Kingston also great damage was done; abundance
 “ of houses were blown quite down, and many more were so
 “ miserably broken and shattered, as to be little better than
 “ none; abundance of rich goods were spoiled by the rain, the
 “ warehouses being either blown down or uncovered. But
 “ they had only one enemy to encounter, viz. the wind, and
 “ were not prevented by the sea from forsaking their falling
 “ houses, and betaking themselves to the savannahs or open
 “ fields, where they were obliged to throw themselves all along
 “ upon the ground, to prevent their being blown away; and
 “ yet, even in Kingston, some persons were killed, amongst
 “ whom was a very worthy gentlewoman, the wife of the re-
 “ verend Mr. May, minister of the town, and the bishop of
 “ London’s commissary; she was killed by the fall of their
 “ house, as she lay with her husband under a large table, who
 “ had also the misfortune of having his own leg broke. All
 “ the vessels that rode in the harbour of Kingston, which were
 “ between forty and fifty sail, were either driven on shore or
 “ overfet and sunk. Abundance of the men and goods were
 “ lost, and one could not forbear being surpris’d to see
 “ large ships, with all their heavy lading in them, thrown quite
 “ up upon the dry land; and nothing could afford a more dis-
 “ mal prospect than the harbour did the next day, which was
 “ covered with nothing but wrecks and dead bodies.

“ At Spanish Town nobody indeed was killed, but a great
 “ many had very narrow escapes, some families having scarce
 “ quitted their houses before they fell down flat at once, with-
 “ out giving any warning. The king’s house stands, indeed,
 “ but it is all uncovered, and the stables, coach-houses, &c.
 “ are quite demolished. The river, near to which the town is
 “ situated, swelled to such a degree as was never before known;
 “ and I was assured by the minister of the place, Mr. Scott, it
 “ rose full forty feet perpendicular above the ordinary mark,
 “ and did incredible damage to the estates that lay bordering
 “ upon it. From other parts of the country we had very me-
 “ lancholy

“ lancholy accounts of the great losses they had sustained, and
 “ particularly at Old Harbour, a village built at a little distance
 “ from that shore; the sea made such haste to devour, as most
 “ unexpectedly to intercept many poor creatures before they
 “ had time to make their escape, and almost forty poor souls
 “ perished all together in one house; and whilst they only
 “ sought security from the wind, exposed themselves to be de-
 “ stroyed by the sea, from whence, when they first fled, they
 “ apprehended no danger. In Clarendon and Vere parishes
 “ great mischief was done; in the latter the minister, Mr.
 “ White, had his leg broke by the fall of the house where he
 “ was, not to mention several persons that were killed outright.

“ But I should quite tire out your patience, should I under-
 “ take to give you a particular account of the damages that
 “ were done by the storm in all parts of the island. It shall
 “ therefore suffice to say, that the damage which the trading
 “ part of the island has sustained, by the loss of their shipping
 “ and goods, is not to be valued; and, on the other hand, it
 “ is impossible to say how deeply the planting interest has shared
 “ in this common calamity, by the loss of dwelling-houses and
 “ sugar-works, and many other ways. And, in short, had the
 “ fury of the storm lasted much longer, the whole island must
 “ have been one general wreck, and nothing but final and uni-
 “ versal ruin could have ensued.”

There remains but one thing more to be mentioned within the compass of this year, and that is, the perplexed situation of affairs on the continent making it necessary for his majesty to visit his German dominions, he embarked on board the *Carolina* yacht on the 3d of June, arrived safely in Holland on the 7th, and continued his journey by land to Hanover, where he remained during the rest of the year 1723; at the close of which Sir John Norris, with a small squadron of men of war was sent to escort him from Holland; and he returned safely to St. James's on the 30th of December¹.

¹ British empire in America, vol. ii. p. 362, contains an account of this dreadful calamity, by Sir N. Lawes, then governor.

² Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 742, 747. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 673, 676. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 891, 892.

The parliament, which had been farther prorogued, on account of the king's stay abroad, was now summoned to meet on the 9th of January; and care was taken in the mean time, to regulate whatever had relation to foreign affairs, in such a manner as that his majesty might assure both houses, in his speech from the throne, that, through his assiduous application to business while at Hanover, all affairs had been adjusted, so that most of the courts of Europe were, at that juncture, either in a favourable disposition towards us, or at least in no condition to create in us any apprehensions on account of their armaments or intrigues.

In this state they continued for about two years, that is to say, till a little before the treaty of Hanover, which was concluded there on the 3d of September, 1725^t. It is sufficiently known to every body, this alliance was concerted in order to prevent the bad effects that were apprehended from the treaty of Vienna; in which, (at least it was so suggested) there were many things dangerous to the trade of England, and the succession of the royal family; but this, however, the late emperor Charles VI. absolutely denied, and took a very strange as well as extraordinary measure, which was to appeal from the judgment of the king and his ministry to that of the people of this nation, for whom he professed the warmest gratitude, and the highest esteem^u; however, there was no great sign of this in the proclamation, published some time after, for prohibiting any of the goods and manufactures of Great Britain from being imported into the island of Sicily, of which we had so lately, and at such a mighty expence to ourselves, put him in possession.

The year 1726 opened very inauspiciously: his majesty embarked on board the *Carolina* yacht, at Helvoetsluys, about one in the afternoon on new-year's-day, with a fair wind at north-east, and sailed immediately. But, about seven the same evening, a most violent storm arose, with hail and rain, which so separated the fleet, that only one man of war, commanded by captain Dansie, kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir John Norris. The tempest continued so high,

^t Lamberti, tom. x. append. No. xxiii. Roussel, tom. ii. p. 189. Le droit public de l'Europe, chap. vii. p. 71.

^u Roussel, tom. iii. p. 349, where the reader will find the resident Palm's memorial, dated March 23, 1727.

and the sea so boisterous, for about thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger. The third, in the morning, the yachts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yachts, with some of his majesty's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more advisable that his majesty should land at Rye, where he arrived about noon; and on the 9th, in the evening, he came from thence to his palace at St. James's, in perfect health^w.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, and the king made a very remarkable speech from the throne^x, in which he took notice of the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and of the measures he had taken for supporting the honour of his crown, and preserving the just rights of his people. When this speech came to be debated in the house of commons, very warm things were said, by those who were then in the opposition, against the plan of the Hanover alliance, which, though it was also disliked by many of the ministers here at home, yet was strenuously supported by others, and even by them, in that debate^y.

It has been generally said, and I believe with truth, that the secretary of state, then abroad with his majesty, was the sole, or at least the principal adviser in that affair, which gave a new turn to our politics, and engaged us in a scheme for humbling the house of Austria, which we had so long and even so lately supported, and in the support of which we have been since also engaged at an expence, that might certainly have been spared, if this scheme had not taken place; such fluctuations there are in modern policy, and so dearly do whole nations pay for the intrigues, caprices, and errors of particular men! But to proceed.

On the 26th of January the house of commons resolved, that ten thousand men be employed for the sea-service, for the year 1726, at 4*l.* a man *per* month for thirteen months. The 23d of February they resolved, that 212,381*l.* 5*s.* be granted for

^w Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 773. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 691. *Mercuré historique et politique*, tome lxxx. p. 211. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 893. ^x Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 349.

^y The point in the treaty of Vienna, which chiefly affected the maritime powers, was the confirmation of the Ostend company.

the ordinary of the navy for the same year^a. But this provision, as the affairs of Europe then stood, being not thought sufficient, his majesty held it requisite, on the 24th of March, to send a message to the house of commons^b, importing, that he found it absolutely necessary to augment his maritime force, and hoped he should be enabled, by the assistance of parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, that he might be thereby enabled not only to secure to his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, but in the best manner to prevent and frustrate such designs as had been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe. Upon this message there was a very warm debate, which issued in an address from the house to his majesty, desiring, "That he would be pleased
 " to make such an addition to the number of seamen already
 " voted, and to concert such other measures as he in his great
 " wisdom should think most conducive to the security of the
 " trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the preservation
 " of the peace of Europe, assuring his majesty that they would
 " effectually provide for, and make good, all such expences and
 " engagements as should be entered into for obtaining those
 " great and desirable ends^b."

The administration had all things now in their own power, and were at full liberty to act as they thought fit; but, before we proceed to what they did, it will be reasonable to take a view of what was then looked upon as the scheme of our enemies. This I think the more reasonable, because hitherto it has never been done, at least in a clear, intelligible way, so that a reader of common capacity might understand it. As soon as the courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their views were crossed, and the ends proposed by their conjunction utterly disappointed by the counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately resolved to have recourse to farther negotiations, in order to increase the number of their allies; and, when they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they designed to have resorted to open force.

^a Historical register for 1736, p. 51, 70.

^b Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 783. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 695.

^c Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 370.

With a view to render this scheme effectual, the emperor began to execute projects in the north, in which he met at first with some extraordinary success. The Czarina Catherine, dowager of the Czar Peter the Great, had conceived a distaste to the British court, and had, by some people about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult matter to overturn the government in Britain. The same scheme had been proposed and countenanced at the Imperial court by some of the ministers, as the empress-dowager informed the king; and, on the credit of that information, his majesty mentioned it in his speech. The Spanish court readily adopted that or any other expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their acquisitions in Italy, then and long after the great objects of their policy^c.

Thus the Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the securing that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into some degree of danger, and perhaps the same cause will hardly ever fail to produce the same effects; whence it is evident, that, the less share we take in the affairs of the continent, the less the present royal family will be exposed to such attempts; and therefore a wise ministry will be sure to inform their master, that pursuing the real and acknowledged interests of Great Britain will conciliate all the powers of the continent except France, and that attempts to aggrandize his electoral dominions will always create him enemies, disturb the peace of Germany, and affect the balance of Europe.

I have already observed, that the ministry at home were by no means the authors of the Hanover alliance, though they looked on themselves as obliged to support it; and therefore, as soon as they were acquainted with the schemes formed by the allies of Vienna, they set about disappointing them with all their force. In order to this, they did not much trust to their good allies the French, or to the slow assistance of the Dutch, but chose the shortest and most expeditious method possible, of helping themselves, with which view it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Baltic to awe the Czarina, to bring round another power, and to keep steady a third. It was likewise thought re-

^c Roussier, tome iii. where the principal public papers regarding these political disputes may be consulted.

quisite to have another strong squadron on the coast of Spain to intimidate his Catholic majesty, and to render his efforts, if he should make any against Gibraltar, ineffectual; and, to sum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the sinews of war, but the great bond of friendship, at least among states and princes, they determined to send a considerable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the shortest means of dissolving the union between their Imperial and Catholic majesties, being satisfied, that, if the former could not receive his subsidies, the latter could never rely upon his assistance: such were the plans on both sides at this critical juncture!

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The squadron they were to command consisted of twenty ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and one hospital-ship. His final instructions having been given to the commander in chief, he on the 13th of April, 1726, hoisted his flag on board the *Torbay*, a third rate man of war, at the Nore^d. He was saluted thereupon by all the ships lying there, and returned their salutes with one and twenty guns. About an hour after, Sir George Walton hoisted his flag on board the *Cumberland*, at her mizen-top-mast head, and saluted the admiral with nineteen guns, and was answered with seventeen. The 14th, Sir Charles delivered out a line of battle, and a rendezvous for Copenhagen road, or the Dablen, near Stockholm, with sailing instructions. The 17th in the morning, the fleet weighed, and set sail from the Nore. On the 23d of the same month, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and on the 25th, Sir Charles presented his majesty's letter to the king of Denmark in cabinet-council, dined with his Danish majesty the same day, and entertained the then prince royal of Denmark on board his own ship the next. On the 6th of May, the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager anchored near Stockholm.

The very next day Stephen Pointz, Esq; his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, accompanied by Mr. Jackson,

^d Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 784. Lediard's naval history, vol. 3. p. 893.

His majesty's resident, came on board the admiral. The 8th, Sir Charles went up to that city with them; and on the 10th, had an audience of the king of Sweden, in the presence of several of the senators, to which he was introduced by Mr. Pointz. Sir Charles delivered a letter from the king his master to his Swedish majesty, by whom he was very graciously received. The 14th of the same month the squadron of Danish men of war sailed from Copenhagen for the island of Bornholm, in order to join the British squadron. These ceremonies over, Sir Charles Wager sailed with his squadron to the island of Nariguan, within three leagues of Revel. There, on the 25th of May, captain Deane, who had been on board the *Port-Mahon*, nearer in with the shore, returned on board the *Torbay*, and brought the admiral an account, that he had spoken with a Lubecker that came five days before from Petersburg, whose master informed him, that there were sixteen Russian men of war in the road at Cronslot, with three flags flying, viz. lord-admiral Apraxin, vice-admiral Gordon, and rear-admiral Saunders; that a great number of gallies were in readiness, of which but twelve were at Cronslot, and the rest at Petersburg, or Wyburgh.

The admiral took the first opportunity of sending his majesty's letter to the Czarina, inclosed in a letter to her admiral Apraxin, in which letter his majesty expostulated very freely with her on the subject of her armaments by sea and land, and on the intrigues which her ministers had lately entered into with the agents of the pretender^e. It is said, that the Russian court was very much nettled at this appearance of a British fleet upon their coasts, and was inclined to have come to extremities, rather than endure it. But vice-admiral Gordon very wisely represented to the council, that the Russian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain; upon which orders were given for laying it up, and for securing, in the best manner possible, both it and the gallies from being insulted. In the month of July prince Menzikoff, who was then prime mini-

^e Historical register for 1716, p. 195, 326. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome lxxx. p. 549, 656. Salmon's chronological historian, vol. ii. p. 165.

^f Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 895. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 697.

^g See the king's letter and the empress's answer in the historical register for 1716, p. 198.

ster, coming to Revel, mutual civilities passed between him and Sir Charles Wager; and his highness, to shew his regard to the English officers, frequently invited them to his own table^b.

The British fleet, while in this station, was joined by a Danish Squadron, commanded by rear-admiral Bille, and remained before Revel till the 28th of September, when, having received certain intelligence that the Russians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, he sailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving safely at the Gunfleet on the first of November^c. It must be allowed that Sir Charles Wager performed, on this occasion, all that could be expected from the wisdom and skill of an English admiral; so that this expedition effectually answered its end, which ought to be considered as an honour to his memory, whether that end shall be thought right or wrong; for that is a mere political dispute, which neither can, or ought to affect the character of the admiral in the least.

The fleet that was sent to the coast of Spain, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, and consisted of nine large men of war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by several ships that were cruising there. The admiral sailed on the 20th of July from St. Helen's; and, on the 3d of August, entered the bay of St. Antonio, which alarmed the Spaniards exceedingly, who immediately drew down a great body of regular troops towards the coast. When the fleet first entered the bay, some pieces of cannon were fired at the foremost ships; but the governor of St. Antonio presently sent an officer to Sir John Jennings to excuse it, and to assure him it was an act of indiscretion committed by the governor of the fort, without orders. On the 25th of the same month the fleet arrived at Lisbon, and was received there with all possible marks of respect; and Sir John Jennings having received a message from the king of Portugal, intimating that he would be glad to see him, the admiral

^b Lediard's naval history, vol. iii. p. 896. Historical register for 1726, p. 329.
^c Motley's life of the empress Catherine, vol. ii. p. 183, 187.
^d Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 698. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome xxxi. p. 550, 551.

landed,

landed, paid his compliments to his majesty^k, and then returning on board his squadron, sailed from the river of Lisbon for the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz; where he was treated with great distinction, and had all the refreshments he desired sent him, by order of the Spanish governor.

He cruized for some time after off Cape St. Mary's, in order to wait for the ships that were to join him. On the 7th of the same month rear-admiral Hopson, with four British men of war, came into the river of Lisbon, and one of the ships having lost her main-yard, and another having her fore-mast damaged, the rear-admiral applied to our minister, brigadier Dormer, who immediately obtained an order from his Portuguese majesty, for furnishing every thing that was necessary out of his naval stores. The 9th, his majesty's ships the *Winchelsea* and *Swallow*, which sailed some time before from the Downs, came into the entrance of the river Tagus, and the next day proceeded to join Sir John Jennings.

It would be needless for me to enter into a farther or more particular detail of the motions of this squadron, which soon after returned to Spithead^l. It is sufficient to observe, that it answered perfectly the ends proposed by it; alarmed the Spanish court to the highest degree, obliged it to abandon the measures then taking to the prejudice of Great Britain, and gave such spirits to the party in Spain which opposed those dangerous councils, as enabled them to triumph over all opposition. The duke de Ripperda, who had been lately prime minister, the very man who had negotiated the treaty of Vienna, by whose intrigues the two courts had been embroiled, took shelter, at the time of his disgrace, in the house of the earl of Harrington, then colonel Stanhope, and our minister at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a British squadron upon the coast, prevailed upon the Spanish court to lay aside all thoughts of proceeding against him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the British ministry those very designs that occasioned the sending of this

^k Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 898. Historical register for 1726, p. 329.
^l 330. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome lxxxi. p. 221, 345.

[Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 698. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 899. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome lxxxi. p. 590.

fleet; and he soon after made his escape from the castle of Ségovia, and retired hither as to the only place of safety, from the resentment of his Catholic majesty^m. Such were the events that attended the expedition of Sir John Jennings on the coast of Spain: let us proceed to the transactions in the West Indies.

As the execution of all the great designs formed by the Vienna allies, depended entirely on the supplies that were expected from the Spanish West Indies, our ministry thought they could not take either a wiser or a bolder measure, than sending a squadron into those parts to block up the galleons, and so prevent them from receiving those supplies. A squadron was accordingly ordered to be equipped for that purpose, the command of which was given to Francis Hosier, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue, an excellent officer; but what his instructions were, I am not able to say, as having no better authority to proceed upon than bare conjectures. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1726; and though he had a very quick passage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his design, by an advice-boat from Cadiz, so that before he reached the Bastimentos, the treasure which had been on board the galleons, and which that year consisted of about six millions and a half sterling, was fairly carried back to Panama, on the other side the Isthmus. On the 6th of June vice-admiral Hosier anchored within sight of Porto Bello; upon which the governor sent to know his demandsⁿ. The vice-admiral answered, with great prudence and temper, that he waited for the Royal George, a large South-sea ship, then in the harbour, which had disposed of all her cargo, and had a very large sum of money on board. The Spaniards, in hopes of getting rid of so troublesome a guest, hastened her away; which, I think, was the greatest service this squadron performed. With respect to the blocking up of the galleons, that was so much magnified here at home, it was really a dream, for his remaining there three weeks, was

^m Memoirs of the duke de Ripperda. Historical register for the year 1727. Tindal, Oldmixon, and other writers.

ⁿ Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 899. Historical register for 1726, p. 330. *Mercure historique et politique*, tome lxxxi. p. 442.

time sufficient to put it out of their power to return for that season ; and, therefore, his continuing there six months, as he did, till his squadron, that had been the terror, become the jest of the Spaniards, was altogether needless. A little before Christmas he weighed, and sailed for Jamaica, after such a loss of men, and in so wretched a condition, that I cannot prevail upon myself to enter into the particulars of a disaster, which I heartily wish could be blotted out of the annals, and out of the remembrance of this nation^o.

It happened very luckily for him, that there were at that time in the island of Jamaica, a great number of seamen out of employment, so that in two months time his squadron was once more manned, and in a condition to put to sea ; which he did, and stood over to Carthagea, where he was able to do little or nothing ; for the Spaniards had by this time recovered their spirits, and began to make reprisals, seizing the *Prince Frederic*, a South-sea ship, then at La Vera Cruz, with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company, which admiral Hosier did indeed demand, but to no purpose. He continued cruising in those seas, and some of his ships took several Spanish prizes, most of which were afterwards restored ; and in this situation things continued till the vice-admiral breathed his last, on the 23d of August, 1727. But that, and what followed, being without the limits of this work, I have nothing farther to say of this expedition, which, whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great courage and conduct by this unfortunate commander, who lost his seamen twice over, and whose ships were totally ruined by the worms in those seas, which created a mighty clamour at home, and was, without doubt, a prodigious loss to the nation.

The Spaniards, intending to shew that they were not intimidated by these mighty naval armaments, proceeded in the scheme they had formed, of attacking the important fortrefs of Gibraltar ; and towards the close of the year 1726, their army, under the count de las Torres, actually came before the place. Our ministry at home having had previous intelligence of this

^o Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 900. Oldmixon. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome lxxii. p. 99.

design, ordered a small squadron to be got ready at Portsmouth in the month of December; and on the 24th, Sir Charles Wager, having hoisted his flag on board the *Kent*; as soon as the wind would permit, sailed, in order to join rear-admiral Hopson, for the relief of that garrison, which he performed very effectually in the succeeding year^b.

The parliament met on the 17th of January, 1727, and on the 23d of the same month the house of commons came to a resolution, that 20,000 men should be allowed for the sea-service, at the usual rate of 4*l.* a-month *per* man; and on the first of the next month, they voted 199,071 *l.* for the ordinary of the navy^c. The first use made of these extraordinary supplies was, to send once more a fleet into the Baltic, where, it was said, the Czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes; and afterwards to proceed to the execution of designs which have been formerly mentioned. On the 21st of April, captain Maurice, commander of the *Nassau*, was appointed rear-admiral of the white squadron, and captain Robert Hughes, commander of the *Hampton-Court*, rear-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet; and captain Rogers was appointed to command the *Nassau* in the room of admiral Maurice. They were all three to serve under Sir John Norris, who sailed the latter end of that month, and arrived on the coast of Jutland the 8th of May^d, anchored in sight of Elsinour the 11th; the next day in the road of Copenhagen; the king of Denmark being at his palace at Fredericksburgh, Sir John, with the lord Glenorchy, his majesty's minister at that court, waited on his Danish majesty, and was extremely well received. But while he was employed in this expedition, that event fell out, which puts a period to our labours.

This event was the death of King GEORGE I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Osnaburgh, June the 11th, 1727, about one in the morning, in the thirteenth

^b Oldmixon's history of England, vol. ii. p. 802, 805. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 709. Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 901. Historical register for the year 1727, p. 120. *Mercurie historique et politique*, tome lxxxii. p. 236, 351, 383, 566.

^c Historical register for 1727, p. 78, 80.

^d Lediard's naval history, vol. ii. p. 905. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 709, 710. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 805.

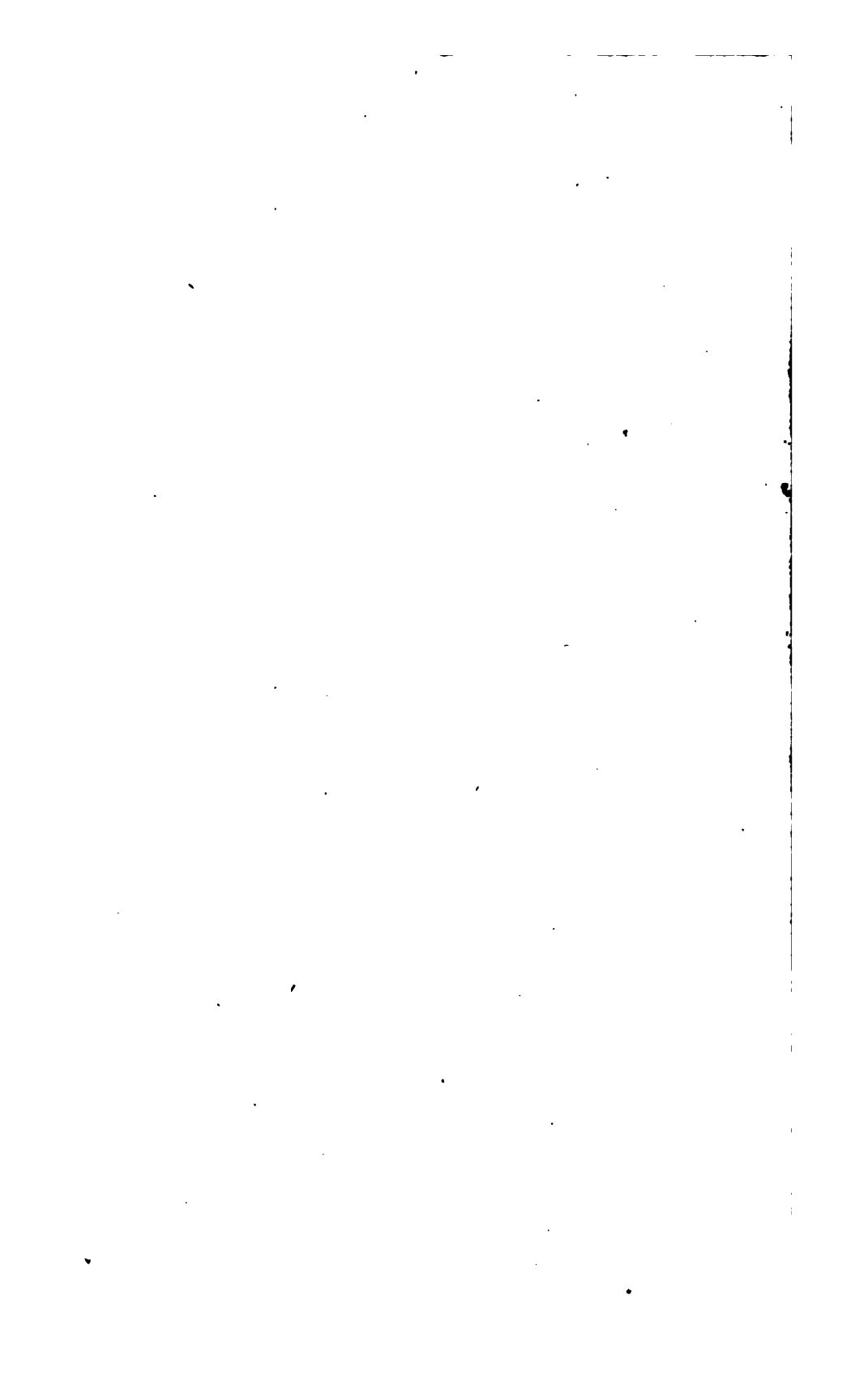
year of his reign, and in the sixty-eight of his life*. To speak without flattery, his majesty was a prince of great virtues, and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general interest of all the princes in Europe, and particularly well versed in whatever related to German affairs, with respect to which he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the constitution of the empire. As to his conduct after his accession to the British throne, his ministers were intirely accountable for it; for he constantly declared to them, that his intention was to govern according to the laws, and with no other view than the general good of his people. He was allowed, by the best judges of military skill, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and understood business as well as any prince of his time. In his amusements he was easy and familiar, of a temper very sensible of the services that were rendered him; firm in his friendships, naturally averse to violent measures, and as compassionate as any prince that ever sat upon a throne.

* Historical register for 1727, p. 272. *Mercurc historique & politique*, tom. lxxxiii. p. 39. London Gazette of June 15th, 1727. M. de la Mottray's travels, vol. iii. p. 277, where there is a distinct account of his majesty's death, from baron Fabrice, who attended him.

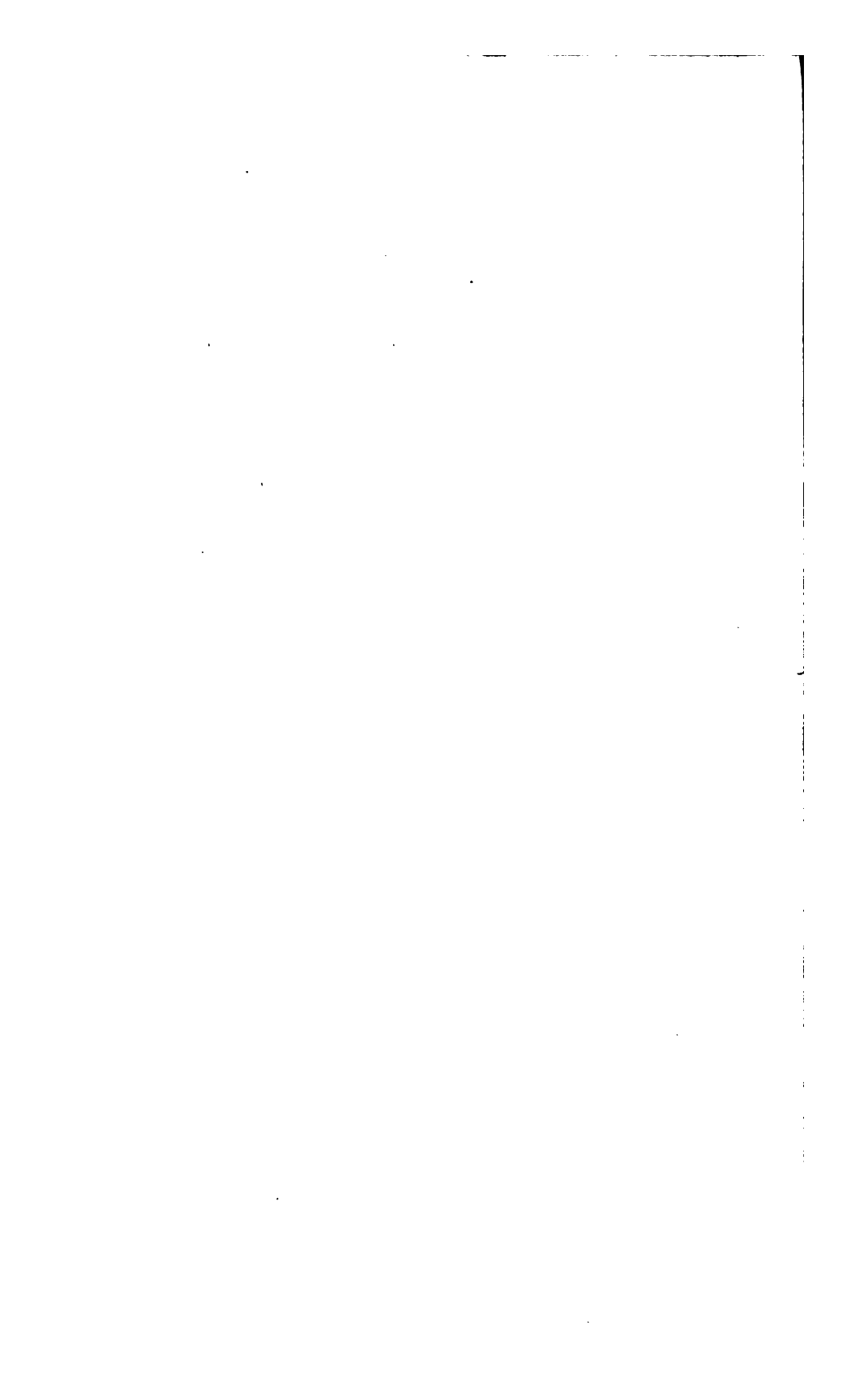
A LIST of the ENGLISH NAVY, as it stood at the Accession
of GEORGE II.

Rates.	Nº of Ships.	Men,	Guns.	Swivels,
I.	7	5,460	700	
II.	13	8,840	1,170	
III.	16	8,320	1,280	
	24	10,568	1,680	
IV.	24	37,600	1,440	
	40	17,200	2,000	
V.	24	4,800	960	
	1	155	39	
VI.	1	140	22	
	28	3,580	560	
Fire-ships	3	155	24	
Bombs	3	120	16	16
Store-ship	1	90	20	
Sloops	15	990	78	78
Yachts	7	260	64	
Ditto, small	5	29	26	6
Hoys	11	87	12	2
Smacks	2	4		
Long-boat	1	2		
Buoy-boat	1			
Lighter	1	3		
Hulks	9	159		
Total	283	64,514	10,082	

END of VOL. III.



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